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CHURCH HISTORY HANDBOOKS

BOOK I

THE EARLY PERIOD

HENRY C. VEDDER

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The Early Period

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CHURCH HISTORY HANDBOOKS

Book I

The Early Period

By

Henry C. Vedder

Professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary

The Griffith & Rowland Press

Philadelphia

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FOREWORD

It is an age of condensation. The most important messages, to command attention, must compact themselves into narrow space. In obedience to this demand these handbooks are sent forth. For our study classes and training schools, for rapid consultation in the busy pastor's study, and for collateral work among our Bible students they will be found invaluable. The attempt has been made to include all essential historic facts, while the extensive bibliography on the various themes will supplement any needful omission.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Definition of History

The word "history" is used in several different senses, and confusion of thought is certain to result unless these meanings are clearly discriminated. (1) It is derived from the Greek *historia,* an inquiry, and hence properly means a learning or knowing by inquiry. In other words, it is that branch of science which has for its object the ascertaining and recording of exact fact with regard to the past. (2) "History" also means a written narrative of past events, which may vary from the simplest form of annals or chronicles to the more complex forms of systematic discourse, with all the embellishments of literary art. (3) "History" is sometimes used as a convenient designation for the sum total of past events. We must distinguish between events as they actually happened and events as they have been apprehended and recorded. The problem of historical study is to recover the real fact from, and by means of, the records.

2. Relation to Church History

Study of church history takes as its starting-point belief in God, Maker of the universe and Ruler of

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the world. It would be irrational to suppose that in such a world there is no ultimate purpose or goal. The Christian student of history finds undeniable evidence of a plan underlying events and giving them unity. The cross of Christ is the central fact of the world's history. We are to study something more than the church, or institutional religion. We take as the object of investigation the unfolding of that divine-human life first introduced into the world by the incarnation of the Son of God in the son of Mary—a life that did not cease with his ascension, but passed on into his disciples who, by virtue of their union with Christ by a living faith, are partakers of his nature. Historical Christianity is the evolution of this life, the growth of institutions in which it found fitting expression, and the effect that it has had on human life and character.

3. The Materials of History

The materials of history are classified as, (1) remains, (2) sources, (3) monuments. Remains are any survivals of the past, not intended as records: (*a*) works, such as roads, aqueducts, fortifications; (*b*) customs, whether mere matters of usage or embodied in laws and constitutions; (*c*) thoughts, literatures, philosophies, mythologies. Sources include all literary memorials of the past, not only formal annals or histories, but embodiments of fact in other literary forms, and all documents, manuscript or printed. Monuments are survivals of the

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past, not literary in form, intended to commemorate persons or events. The pyramids, statues, coins, and medals, coats of arms, are familiar examples of monuments. It is, however, becoming increasingly common to include all original, contemporary materials for the study of history under the one term "sources."

4. Method of Study

To reach results of solid value, history must be studied by the scientific method. There are three principal steps:

1. Investigation (by some called "invention," by others "discovery")—that is, the bringing to light of the facts, by study and comparison of the materials. We must treat our materials with candor and fairness. No prepossessions or prejudices must be permitted to influence investigation. If we first inquire what the Scriptures teach, or what a philosophy requires, and then proceed to make the facts correspond to such preconceived opinions, our method is unscientific and our results will be without value. History must be used to interpret Scripture, to correct philosophy; and neither the supposed meaning of Scripture nor the assumed truth of philosophy, is competent to determine history.

2. Generalization—the discovery of the laws that underlie the facts so that the events of history may be set forth in their genetic relations. This process should not be hasty, nor based on an insufficient

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number of particulars. Working hypotheses are most useful, from the beginning of an investigation —a hypothesis of some sort is often a life-preserver, to save one from being completely submerged in an ocean of fact—but while a hypothesis is a good servant it is the worst of all masters. The final conclusion, the formulated law, that one has wrung from isolated facts, must rest on a sufficiently broad basis of investigation to bear the weight of criticism. The bane of historical literature is the prevalence of hasty generalization.

3. Verification. Supposed laws deduced from ascertained facts are to be subjected to a rigorous and constant process of verification, consisting of (*a*) reinvestigation, and (*b*) comparison with other like facts.

5. Value of the Study

The study of church history has strong claims on the time and interest of Christian men and women. Its value as discipline is great: it forms the habit of patient and prolonged attention; it teaches the supreme importance of accuracy; it warns against sciolism, or half-knowledge; it encourages modesty and caution in the formation and expression of judgments—intellectual and moral habits of the greatest significance. Through historical study one learns to know man; the sifting of testimony, the weighing of performance, the analysis of motive, the synthesis of character—all this is a valuable

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preparation for any form of Christian work, for success depends greatly on the ability to understand men. No other study will do so much to broaden the mind, to enlarge the mental outlook, to give moral breadth and serenity. Knowledge of the past imparts steadiness to the mental processes, ballast to the character; ignorance of the past is the fruitful parent of theological vagary. This study will supply the Christian worker with an inexhaustible store of illustrations, fresh, apposite, interesting, on which he may draw freely.

6. The Fulness of the Times

Paul declares, "But when the fulness of the time came God sent forth his Son" (Gal. 4 : 4). In the social and political condition of the world at the time Christ appeared, we find ample confirmation of these words. Conditions strikingly favorable to the spread of Christ's religion are found, so numerous, and in many cases existing only at the precise time that Jesus and his apostles lived and taught, that it would be irrational to suppose them to be mere coincidences. These events compel the conclusion that there was a preparation of the world for the coming of the Christ and the rapid spread of the new faith in him as Son of God and Redeemer.

7. Judaism

"Preparation" is written all over the history and religious institutions of the Jews. Everything

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points forward to the Coming One. All rites and sacrifices prefigure something to be accomplished. By the elaborate law of defilement and purification, the idea of righteousness, holiness, purity, was deeply ingrained into the national consciousness. The Dispersion had established a Jewish colony in every notable city of the known world. The growth of the synagogue worship furnished a favorable field for the first missionary preaching of Christian truth. The political state of the Jews—under the Roman rule, yet allowed a measure of freedom —was favorable to the spread of Christianity. They were restrained from those measures of effective persecution that they would have employed had their nation been entirely free. The bitter rivalry of Pharisees and Sadducees had a similar restraining effect. Divided and subject, they could do nothing effective for the destruction of the new Faith, and it had an opportunity to make its way on its merits.

8. Heathenism

Monotheism, the worship of one God, had made great progress in the world. The influence of Judaism had made itself strongly felt. Though the masses of the heathen were still superstitious worshipers of a multitude of gods, the cultivated had ceased to believe in these divinities. But for the most part, no better faith had come to replace that which had been lost. Most of those who had ceased to be-

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lieve in the gods, were agnostics or atheists, and lived for this world alone. The heathen world was fast falling into a state of utter hopelessness when the preaching of the gospel began. Christianity satisfied the longing of many hearts for something that would assure man of deliverance from the power of sin here and a glorious immortality beyond the grave. Where heathenism failed was not so much in supplying ideals of conduct as power to realize the ideals. The religion of Christ assured men of the help of One who had a human sympathy with their temptations, and divine power to succor the tempted. It was this promise of help for present need, and hope for a cheerless future, that gave the first preachers of Christianity so ready a hearing and secured for their gospel so wide acceptance.

9. Greek Culture

From the second century B. C., Greek culture spread rapidly through the East. The Greek language became the common medium of communication, and was everywhere spoken, though not by everybody. The apostles were thus able to preach throughout the known world, without the labor and delay of learning foreign languages; and their letters, as well as the Gospels, could be read among all the churches. No one condition was more influential than this in making possible the extension of Christianity to the limits of the Roman empire during a single century. The philosophical speculations

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of the Greeks were also a preparation for the gospel, in that they were in many respects prophecies or foreshadowings of Christian truth. The philosophers also taught the absurdity and inadequacy of the heathen beliefs. It is true that many became so wedded to these speculations that the gospel, because of its simplicity, its requirement of humility and faith as conditions of salvation, seemed foolishness to them.

10. The Roman Empire

Rome had conquered and united under a single government all that part of the world bordering on the Mediterranean. Never had peace so generally prevailed, never had life and property been so safe, never had travel been so easy. The Romans were the great administrators of the ancient world, and to conquer meant to them to civilize, to promote order and security. Commerce kept step with the armies of Rome, and the arts of peace progressed under a protection so efficient. In these conditions was a most favorable opportunity for the preaching of the gospel. The Romans were the great road-builders, but the roads they built for their legions to march upon to war served as highways for the envoys of the Prince of Peace. Lines of ships were established to Alexandria and Antioch, that the East might send grain to feed and quiet the rabble of Rome; but these ships brought also the bread of life to the perishing. Who can resist the cumulative

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evidence that the providence of God marshaled the events of the world, and brought about these conditions that so powerfully promoted the preaching of the glad tidings of salvation through Christ?

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The Quiz

What may "history" mean? Which meaning best fits our study? What is the problem of historical study? How is the study of church history related to history in general? What is our true subject? Is that broader or narrower than church history? What are the materials of history? Give examples, not in the text, of the various kinds. What is commonly meant by "sources"? By what method is history properly studied? How many steps? Describe each. Why should one study church history? What practical value has such study? What is meant by "the fulness of the times"? Is it rational to reject the evidence of purpose in history? If not, why? What is the significance of Judaism? How was the condition of the Jews favorable to the mission of Christ? In what sense did the heathen religions prepare for Christianity? What did the Christian religion offer men? Wherein did heathen religions fail? What did Greek culture do to promote the spread of Christianity? Compare the conditions in the time of the apostles with those that our foreign missionaries find to-day; which were most favorable? How did the organization of the Roman empire favor the spread of Christianity? Is the evidence of a preparation of the world for Christ's coming convincing to *you*?

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CHAPTER I

THE APOSTOLIC AGE

11. The Life of Christ

Jesus was born at Bethlehem, of the royal line of David, about four years before the traditional date.[1] His youth was spent at Nazareth, and when about thirty years old he began his public ministry by baptism at the hands of John the Baptist. He spent two or three years in proclaiming the kingdom of God and instructing his disciples in the principles of the kingdom, accompanying his instructions by the working of miracles, which were acted parables rather than works of mercy. The greater part of his labors were in Galilee, but there were several visits to Jerusalem, where he made his appeal to the official representatives of the Jewish nation. By the people he was generally believed to be the Christ, or Messiah, but by the rabbis and leaders he was rejected. Through their hatred he was arrested, tried by the Sanhedrin, and condemned for

[1] It seems absurd to speak of Christ as having been born in the year 4 B. C., and the absurdity comes about in this wise: Our present system of dates, the so-called Christian era, was invented by Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century. He supposed the birth of Christ to have occurred in the year 753 A. U. C. (from the founding of the city), the Roman method of dating events. But it is the general opinion that he was wrong by at least three years, and some would say six. Absolute settlement of the question is impossible, and the statement in the text represents an average of the opinions at present held regarding the date.

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blasphemy; then taken before Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator, and crucified on what his judge admitted was a false charge of treason. He rose from the dead on the third day, showed himself at intervals through forty days to his disciples, and then ascended into heaven, first commanding them to remain at Jerusalem until they had received the Holy Spirit and then to preach his gospel in all the world.

12. The Church at Jerusalem

The disciples obeyed their Master, and on the day of Pentecost the promised Spirit was bestowed. Peter preached Jesus as the Messiah, and three thousand were added to the church in one day. In spite of persecutions, this community speedily increased to five thousand, being marked by the spirit of brotherly love that prevailed among its members. Seven men were chosen as "deacons," to have charge of the distribution to the poor. The zeal of one of these deacons, named Stephen, roused the bitter enmity of the Jewish leaders, and he was brought before the Sanhedrin, where his bold defense so provoked the anger of the Jews that they dragged him out of the city and stoned him to death. The fierce persecution of the whole church that followed scattered them, and everywhere they went they preached Jesus as the Christ and salvation through him. In Samaria especially, they gained many adherents. A few Jewish proselytes also re-

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ceived the gospel, but there was as yet no general missionary effort. The first disciples seem to have regarded themselves as no more than a Jewish sect, remained faithful to their Jewish traditions, and had a very inadequate conception of the meaning of the Great Commission.

13. The Conversion of Saul

Saul, later called Paul, was a native of Tarsus, whose father was a Roman citizen, but also "a Hebrew of the Hebrews, being of the tribe of Benjamin." He was educated at Jerusalem, the celebrated Gamaliel being his chief instructor. He became exceedingly zealous for the law and the Jewish tradition, and was distinguished for his activity in the persecution of the disciples of Jesus. He seems to have been a member of the Sanhedrin, for he speaks of giving his vote against the accused followers of Christ. At the stoning of Stephen he guarded the garments of the executioners. Not long after he sought and obtained letters to the Jewish authorities at Damascus, that he might procure the arrest and condemnation of any Christians there. On the journey to that city he had, as he ever afterward maintained, a vision of Jesus, whom he was persecuting, who appeared in a glory that struck him with blindness. After a three days' struggle he submitted to Jesus as Christ and Lord, received his sight again, was baptized and straightway began to preach the gospel with a zeal that con-

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founded the Jews. His life being in danger he escaped from Damascus, and came to Jerusalem, where he was reluctantly received into the brotherhood on the commendation of Barnabas; and after spending several years in study and meditation in Arabia, went to his native city, where he again began to preach the gospel. Thence he was summoned to assist Barnabas at Antioch.

14. The Empire Evangelized

When persecution drove the disciples from Jerusalem, some of them went to Antioch, where a large church was soon gathered, which took the lead in evangelizing. They sent out Paul and Barnabas on a missionary tour, in the course of which many churches were established in Asia. Two later tours of Paul are known to us in some detail, in the course of which he preached the gospel in the principal cities of the empire, and later as a prisoner at Rome. The other apostles were evidently active also, and soon the followers of Christ were found everywhere. In the course of these labors, a great controversy broke out at Antioch, about A. D. 44, as to the status of Gentile converts. A party insisted that Gentiles must become Jews and keep the law of Moses, or they could not be Christians. Paul opposed this view vigorously, and at a "council" held at Jerusalem it was conceded by all that the Gentiles were not to be bound by the law. The great success of the early preachers of the gospel

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would have been impossible but for this wisely liberal decision.

15. The Destruction of Jerusalem

The Jews, who had long been dissatisfied and restless, revolted against the Romans in A. D. 65. An army was sent against them, and after long and desperate resistance Titus captured the city in the year 70, and completely demolished it. The greater part of the people were slain, the rest were made slaves, and the Jews ceased to be a nation. Important results to Christianity followed. The extinction of the Judaizing party was hastened, as the temple no longer existed to be a center of bigoted attachment. From this time on only the heathen looked upon Christians as a Jewish sect, and they were speedily enlightened. Christianity and Judaism became clearly distinguished in the minds of men.

16. Christianity and the Roman Law

The law of Rome forbade the introduction of new religions until they were authorized by the Senate. But the Roman policy was a liberal one, and as nations were conquered, their gods were formally recognized and admitted. Jews were tolerated under this principle, because theirs was an ethnic or national religion. While Christians were supposed to be a kind of Jews, there was no legal interference with them; but after a time it was evident that

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Christianity was not an ethnic religion, but aspired to be universal, that in a sense it was hostile to other religions, since it denied and opposed their gods. As Christianity had never been recognized, it was illegal, and all Christians were subject as such to the penalty of death. The first persecution in Rome under Nero was not founded on a legal principle, so much as on a false accusation of incendiarism, and was of short duration. Later, under Domitian (81-96), Christians were persecuted on the charge of atheism, which grew out of the fact that they denied the popular divinities. During the apostolic period, however, persecution was spasmodic and limited in area. Though many perished, there could not be said as yet to be a fixed hostility of the Roman State against the Christian church.

17. Apostolic Ideal of the Church

The word "church" in eighty-five out of one hundred and fourteen cases in which the word occurs in the New Testament, means a local assembly of Christians. In eighteen other cases it is used to describe all the followers of Christ, who are thought of as one assembly of saints, the church universal. In this sense it does not mean a visible body, but corresponds to the term "kingdom of God" in the Gospels, a spiritual and invisible assembly. Both the local body (as in Rom. 12 : 5) and the general assembly (as in Eph. 4 : 15, 16) are spoken of as the body of Christ, the temple of the Holy Spirit,

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and holy. But of a church, that extends throughout the world as a visible body, of which local churches are branches, the New Testament knows nothing. That was the perverted ideal of a later age.

18. Officers and Polity

At first the apostles performed all necessary service in the church at Jerusalem. After a time, as we have seen, deacons were chosen to look after the poor. In time their functions were somewhat enlarged, but this continued to be their chief work. We first hear of the appointment of other officers at the close of the first missionary tour of Paul and Barnabas; the new churches they had gathered needed oversight, and "elders" were appointed in every place, after the manner in which the Jewish synagogues were organized. Later these officers, of which each church commonly had several, were also called "bishops," or overseers, a name often used in Greek societies for the presiding officer. The New Testament churches had no other officers than these. Each church was independent in those matters that concerned the local assembly alone, but all the churches recognized their mutual obligations of sympathy and helpfulness. The bond between them was not a system of church law, but Christian love.

19. Worship and Life

The worship of the apostolic churches was exceedingly simple. It is probable that a ritual was

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early introduced, but it was flexible and plain. Reading of the Scriptures, prayer, the chanting of psalms, and preaching were the chief component parts. The use of stated forms of prayer in the synagogue worship may have led to the adoption of such in the churches. From the beginning of Christian literature the first day of the week is recognized as the distinctive Christian day of worship. The observance of Easter and Pentecost also begins very early, possibly before the end of the apostolic period.

That which above all gained for the new religion its acceptance was its power to transform character, to influence life. This early and deeply impressed the Roman world. The degradation of heathen society, their own writers being witnesses, was widespread and appalling. The heathen religions, as sanctions of righteousness or incentives to it, had failed. Philosophy offered no motives to the higher life that the uncultivated could appreciate. Christianity first made a life of righteousness possible to all men through a renewal of the heart, a cleansing of the soul, a quickening and enlightening of the conscience. The apostolic churches grew rapidly because the Christians were living epistles of Christ, that the world did not fail to read and understand. The convincing argument for Christianity with the pagan world was its power to produce holy living; the tree was known and judged by its fruits.

Christianity offered both the theory and the prac-

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tice of a pure family life, which had nearly perished among the heathen. The New Testament founds the family on the lifelong union of husband and wife, whose bond is mutual affection, forbearance, and faithfulness. It makes woman the complement of man, his other self. The subjection of woman to man in the Christian family is a subjection of office merely, neither being superior to the other in rights or honor. That the status of woman should be elevated wherever Christianity prevailed was a necessity of the case. A religion teaching that in Christ there is neither male nor female, but a new creation, must elevate woman and it did.

Christianity renovated society as a leaven; it did not destroy the bad, and the imperfect as by an earthquake. It did not attack, it undermined, it ameliorated, it gradually transformed. Christianity did not directly assail the imperial despotism, but its teaching of Christian brotherhood was an assertion of liberty before which despotism gradually faded away. It did not forbid the holding of slaves, but the Christian brotherhood was inconsistent with an estate of bondage. This has been true of the world's history since the apostolic era; wherever the teachings of Christ have had a fair opportunity in any nation to work themselves out, social institutions have been regenerated. The reorganization of the social order, so far as that order is unjust and oppressive, is everywhere certain to take place just in proportion to the rapidity with which men are led

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to accept Christ as their teacher in all things. This is a lesson of especial value now, when so many are calling on the Christian churches to take the lead in the righting of all wrongs and the regeneration of society.

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The Quiz

When and where was Jesus born? Describe his public ministry. How was he received? How did his earthly life end? When was the day of Pentecost? What happened? What was the result? How did deacons come to be chosen? What was the result of the persecution of the church? What conception of the religion of Christ did the first disciples have? How did Saul come to be a Christian? Can you find anything in his previous life to explain the change? What did Saul do after his conversion? What was the origin of the church at Antioch? Who were the first Christian missionaries? What great controversy agitated the early churches? How was the question decided? Was that decision permanent? What led to the destruction of Jerusalem? What effect did it have on Christianity? What was the Roman law about foreign religions? What was the policy of the State? How were Christians treated at first? Later? With what offense were Christians charged? What does "church" mean in the New Testament? Do we find there any church? What officers had the apostolic churches? What were their names, and what did these signify? What relation had the churches to each other? What was the worship of the early churches? What was the secret of Christianity's progress? What effect had it on family life? on despotism? on slavery? *How* did it affect these?

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CHAPTER II.

THE ANTE-NICENE CHURCH

20. Rapid Spread of Christianity

Before the close of the Apostolic Age the gospel had been preached in all parts of the Roman empire. Its converts were largely among the humbler classes (1 Cor. 1 : 26; James 2 : 5-7), yet it found adherents among the highborn (Acts 10 : 1, 45-48; 13 : 7, 12; 17 : 34; 18 : 8; 19 : 22, 31), and even in Cæsar's household (Phil. 4 : 22). After the Apostolic Age this rapid progress continued. One of the earliest testimonies to the growth of Christianity is the celebrated letter of Pliny to Trajan, about 115 A. D., which closes with these words "It has seemed to be a matter worthy of consultation, chiefly on account of the persons in danger. Many of all ages and ranks and of both sexes are and will be in danger. The contagion of this superstition pervades not only cities, but villages and even farms, which, however, it seems possible to restrain and correct. Certainly the temples, which had been almost deserted, have begun to be frequented; the sacred rites, long intermitted, are renewed . . . whence it is easy to see that a great number of men might be reclaimed if pardon were offered to them."

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There were Christians in high places in the empire. Domitilla, a kinswoman of Nerva, was banished for being a Christian, and various passages of the early Christian writers prove that Christians were in stations of trust and well known and esteemed even by emperors.

As to the number of Christians, the character and severity of the measures taken to suppress them is perhaps the best testimony. Tertullian is rhetorical, yet not unworthy of belief, when he declares: "We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum! We leave you your temples only. We count your armies: our numbers in a single province will be greater." One of the edicts of Maximin may be esteemed better authority; he says that "almost all" had abandoned the ancestral worship of the gods for this new religion.

21. The Vain Attempt at Suppression

Believing that Christianity was a religion dangerous to the State, the Roman emperors made a determined attempt to suppress it. As the Christians became more numerous, the laws were enforced with greater severity. At first persecution was local and fitful, but from the time of Decius (249-251) persecution became general throughout the empire, though there were periods when the laws were re-

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laxed. As a rule, the better emperors were more severe than those of bad character. In spite of all opposition, Christians continued to increase at an alarming rate, and a final attempt to destroy the religion was made under Diocletian, in 303. An imperial edict commanded that all churches should be demolished, all sacred books of the Christians be surrendered and burnt, and all who persisted in their Christianity should forfeit office and freedom. A second edict ordered that all bishops and clergy should be cast into prison, without option of sacrifice. A still harsher edict followed, commanding that all Christians should sacrifice or die. Many Christians perished, and many more "lapsed," or denied their faith to save their lives. The greater part, however, heroically maintained their faith, and the policy of persecution had to be abandoned.

22. The Heathen Polemic

The opposition to Christianity was not confined to violence; to brute force was added argument, satire, and slander. Most of the heathen writings against Christianity have perished, or are known to us only by quotations made by Christian opponents. The works of Lucian (c. 140-200) have, however, survived. He was one of the most eminent men of letters of his time, witty, polished, almost classical in the purity of his Greek. He was not more opposed to Christianity, perhaps, than to any and all religions —since he was a skeptic or agnostic—but his bitter-

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est gibes were directed at that faith. A much more dangerous opponent was Celsus, between 150 and 180, whom we know through the reply of Origen. From this Father's treatise we may without much difficulty reconstruct the main features of the polemic of Celsus; and we discover that it was an able assault along the whole line of the Christian teaching. He shows great critical acumen and philosophic subtlety. The dangerous character of his treatise is proved by the elaborate refutation attempted by Origen. Porphyry of Tyre (c. 233–305) is reckoned another formidable foe by his Christian contemporaries. His writings also survive only in scattered quotations, from which it appears that he devoted himself to a hostile critical analysis of the gospel history, attempted to show that it abounded in discrepancies and contradictions fatal to its credibility. Of the heathen polemic in general it is enough to say, no serious objection, whether on philosophic, historic, or critical grounds, has been raised against Christianity during the last three centuries, that was not raised and for the most part exhaustively argued, during the first three centuries of the Christian faith. Modern infidelity has done little more than use over again the spent ammunition of ancient heathenism.

23. The Christian Apologists

This heathen polemic called forth a rich Christian apologetic literature. The earliest apologies have

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no specific antagonist in mind, but are devoted to the setting forth and defense of the faith and life of Christians from general misunderstandings and misrepresentations. Such is the nature of the apologies of Aristides and Justin. Tertullian is hardly more specific, but much more vehement and rhetorical than either. Irenæus specifies antagonists by name, and is philosophic and convincing. Of the Christian writings in general, it may be said that they anticipate most of the arguments that have been found in all succeeding centuries effective for the defense of the faith. The form and content of these Christian writings is largely dictated by the nature of the objections made to Christianity by its opponents. These reduce themselves to three classes: (1) Christianity was a religion dangerous to the State; (2) Christian teachings involved historical error or philosophic absurdity; (3) Christians were guilty of immoral practices. The earlier apologies make much of the first objection and answer it elaborately; the later are mainly concerned with the second. The third was never more than vague slanders, but these were surprisingly persistent. Christians were accused of practising frightful orgies at their private meetings; of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of infants; of worshiping an ass—nothing, in short, was too vile or too incredible to be charged against them. To such vague charges Christians could of course do no more than oppose a firm and consistent denial. It is a

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curious fact that, at the same time they urged these charges against Christians in mass, no heathen authors charge immorality upon individual Christians.

24. The Holy Catholic Church

Jesus prayed that his disciples might be one, and his apostles taught that the church is the temple of the Holy Ghost, and therefore both one and holy. Early in the second century, however, these ideas assumed a different form from that of the New Testament. The churches were conceived of as forming together one church, not spiritual merely, but visible, extending throughout the world, and therefore catholic (*i. e.*, universal). Persecution doubtless had much to do with emphasizing in the minds of Christians their unity, but an exaggerated notion of the value of formal oneness came to prevail, until schism was reckoned the deadliest of sins a Christian could commit. The preservation of outward unity thus becoming the paramount consideration, it followed that whatever error a majority in the church might come to hold, the minority must accept it, rather than be guilty of this deadly sin of schism. This ideal of a Holy Catholic Church, outside of which was no salvation, unity with which was necessary to unity with Christ, became one of the most influential principles in the development of later Christian institutions, and tended powerfully to the corruption of doctrine and polity.

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25. Rise of the Episcopate

In the New Testament we find presbyter-bishops, one office with two interchangeable titles, but early in the second century we find bishops and presbyters, two offices, not one, the bishop being superior to the presbyters. Just how this happened is not known, but it is supposed that in churches where a plurality of elders was found, one of the presbyters became the leader or president—whether by seniority, force of character, or election can only be conjectured, and is unimportant. To him the title of bishop was gradually appropriated. This is the state of things that we find in the letters of Ignatius, written about the year A. D. 115. But the bishop was as yet bishop of a single church, though there may have been several congregations, each with its presbyters. How and when this episcopate became diocesan we do not exactly know. As the churches of the great cities in the empire sent out preachers into the suburbs and adjacent towns, and new churches were formed, they would not unnaturally come under the authority of this bishop. We find from Irenæus onward his jurisdiction, originally described as his parish (*paroikia*), gradually enlarging, until the third century sees the diocesan system fully established.

26. Sacramentalism

The enlistment oath of the Roman soldier was called *sacramentum*, and this word was fittingly

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applied by Christian writers to baptism, the Christian's testimony of allegiance to his Lord. But gradually a special sacredness was attached to the Christian ordinances, or sacraments, and they were no longer believed to be merely outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual grace, but the channels by which divine grace was conveyed to men. In baptism, the Fathers taught, sins are washed away actually, not symbolically. In the Lord's Supper we eat the body and drink the blood of Christ really, not in symbol; corporeally, and not by faith alone. And at length it was taught that salvation could be assured only to those who received the sacraments from the church, their divinely appointed custodian. Other religious ceremonies were gradually elevated to the dignity of sacraments, until the church recognized seven: baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance (including confession of sins and absolution), orders (the ordination of ministers), marriage, and extreme unction (the anointing with oil of those sick unto death). These sacramental notions led to many changes, especially to the introduction of the baptism of infants, in order that their salvation might be assured, and the substitution of sprinkling and pouring for immersion.

27. Priesthood and Hierarchy

The New Testament teaches the priesthood of all believers, and recognizes no other priesthood among Christians. But both Jews and pagans were fa-

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miliar with this idea of a priesthood, and they naturally, almost inevitably, carried their old religious ideas over into the religion that they had adopted in their adult years. For a time the Fathers seem to have used sacerdotal terms as they used sacramental terms, with a figurative rather than a literal meaning. When they speak of "sanctuary" and "altar," of "priest" and "sacrifice," they do not at first mean all that those words literally imply; but it was not long before the figure of speech disappeared and the literal meaning only remained. Clement of Rome was the first writer to draw a parallel between the Christian ministry and the Levitical priesthood, and is the first to speak of the "laity" as distinct from the clergy. In Tertullian and Cyprian we may trace the completion of the process, and by the end of the third century, or early in the fourth, the idea was generally accepted that the clergy formed an ecclesiastical or sacerdotal order, a priestly caste completely separate from the laity. A sacerdotal order naturally develops into a hierarchy, as is proved by the history of all religions. The first step had been taken in the elevation of one of the presbyters into a bishop. Causes similar to that which produced the episcopate produced gradations in the episcopal office. Lower orders of the clergy were also gradually evolved. By the fourth century the church had an elaborate system of clerics, to all of whom a special sacerdotal character was attributed.

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28. Ritualism

As sacraments imply a priesthood, so a priesthood implies a ritual. The simple worship of the apostolic period became more ornate and elaborate in the second and third centuries. The earliest surviving liturgies cannot be dated earlier than 200 as to their substance. We find in them profuse ceremony. The administration of the sacraments, especially of the Eucharist, was surrounded by mystery; the "Hail Mary" is already in use, and the invocation of saints. The use of religious emblems becomes well established, later developing into the use of pictures and images regarded with idolatrous veneration. Vestments were introduced about the middle of the third century. The observance of special days and seasons increased. Easter and Pentecost had been very early observed, but now such feasts as Epiphany and Christmas, and the first observances of the Lenten season are found.

29. The Catechumenate

The catechumenate had its origin in the necessity, such as is felt by the missionaries in heathen lands at this day, of instructing converts in the first principles of the Christian faith. But it is evident that instruction of this kind, prior to baptism, should be extremely simple and elementary, and need not be greatly protracted. So soon, however, as the catechumenate was an established institution in the Catholic Church, its system of instruction be-

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came elaborate and prolonged, and candidates were delayed in these schools of instruction for many months, even for several years, before they were allowed to be baptized. The tendency of such an institution was to foster the idea that men might be educated into Christianity, and to decrease the reliance of the church upon the agency of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of men. What might have been and doubtless was at first an effective agency for good, became an instrument for the corruption of the church. While it endured and flourished, however (from the second to the fifth centuries), the catechumenate was an evidence not to be controverted of the general prevalence of adult baptism. Its decline and the growth of infant baptism went hand in hand.

30. The Montanistic Reaction

Montanus and his followers protested against the growing corruptions of the Catholic Church. They were not heretics, for no council ever condemned them, but were regarded as schismatics. They laid great emphasis on the spiritual nature of the church which they held should consist only of the regenerate. They called themselves "spiritual" and the Catholics "carnal." The Spirit dwells in a special manner in every believer, and in consequence some receive special revelations. The followers of Montanus regarded his revelations as superior in authority to the Scriptures. The Montanists also believed

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in the speedy coming of Christ to reign with his saints a thousand years. They maintained the doctrine and practice of strict asceticism and rigid discipline. "Mortifying the flesh" was believed to be the road to heaven. Virginity was commended as superior to marriage, and second marriage was pronounced equivalent to adultery. The Montanists became numerous in the East and in Africa (between 200 and 250), but rapidly declined, and after the fourth century disappear. Their protest would have been more effective had it been more scriptural and less mixed with fanaticism.

31. The Novatian Schism

This originated in the church at Rome, in a controversy as to the proper treatment of the "lapsed." The party in favor of receiving them back into the church on easy terms, in 250 chose Cornelius as bishop; while the stricter party refused to recognize Cornelius and elected Novatian. But there was much more than a question of office at stake, and Novatianism rapidly spread, because there were many Christians who believed that the Catholic Church was becoming too closely conformed to the world. Montanism and Novatianism were the first Protestant movements, and failed partly because of their inherent defects, and partly because the great majority of Christians then living were satisfied with a worldly church. We first meet here the name Anabaptist, applied to the Novatians because they

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rebaptized those who came to them from the Catholic Church, refusing to recognize the latter as a true church, or its sacraments as valid. After a brief period of rapid growth the Novatians gradually declined and disappeared.

Bibliography

By far the most important book on the topics of this chapter is Harnack's *Expansion of Christianity* (2 vols., Pútnam, $6). It is not cheap, and it is not easy reading, but the essence of a library is condensed in it. All of the following are of great value: Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches* (London, $3); Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government* (Longmans, $1.50); Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries* (Armstrong, $2); Uhlhorn, *Charity in the Early Church* and *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism* (Scribner, $2.50 each). The writings of the Christian Fathers of this period are contained, in an English translation, in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (10 vols., Scribner, $4 each). Cruttwell's *Literary History of Early Christianity* is valuable (2 vols., Scribner, $6). In addition, encyclopedia articles on Decius, Marcus Aurelius, Diocletian, Irenæus, Cyprian, Tertullian, Montanists, Novatians.

The Quiz

How many converts to Christianity were made in the first century? Among what classes of society?

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What did Pliny say about it? Tertullian? The Emperor Maximin? Why did the emperors persecute Christians? When did the imperial policy show a marked change? Did the good emperors persecute as severely as the bad? Why? Describe the persecution of Diocletian. Was it successful? Describe the writings of Lucian, of Celsus, of Porphyry of Tyre. What may be said of these heathen writings? Who were the Christian apologists? What was the character of their writings? What were the objections made to Christianity? What idea of the unity of the church do we find in the New Testament? What idea in the age following? What does "catholic" mean? What is the difference between the Holy Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic Church? How did the bishop come to be superior to the presbyter? Where do we find the first evidence of the change? When did the "diocese" originate? What did "sacrament" originally mean? How did it come to be applied to a Christian ordinance? What change took place in the ideas concerning the ordinances? How many ceremonies came to be regarded as sacraments? What changes resulted from these ideas? What kind of priesthood does the New Testament recognize? How did sacerdotal terms come to be used by Christians? What results followed? What causes produced a hierarchy? Describe the growth of ritualism. What was the catechumenate? Was it a necessary institution? Are there any modern insti-

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tutions of like nature? What was its tendency? To what fact does it witness? What was the fundamental principle of Montanism? What were their other teachings? Were they heretics? Why did their protest fail? How did the Novatians originate? Was this more than a squabble over an office? Why were they called Anabaptists? Can you state the secret of their failure?

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CHAPTER III

THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE

32. Constantine

Great confusion followed the reign of Diocletian, at one time no fewer than six persons claiming the imperial dignity. By his victory at the Milvian Bridge, Constantine became emperor of the West, and at about the same time Licinius overcame all rivals in the East. An edict of toleration was issued in 312 at Milan, in the joint names of these rulers, assuring full liberty of worship to all people of the empire. In 324 Constantine defeated Licinius and became sole emperor. In the meantime he had shown many favors to Christians, and he now conceived the project of making the Catholic Church a means of promoting his imperial policy. While he never resigned his functions as pontifex maximus, or high priest of the heathen religion, he gradually assumed a similar relation to Christianity. Excepting a brief heathen reaction under Julian (361-363), his successors continued his policy, and Christianity became the recognized religion of the Roman State. Gratian (375-383) surrendered the title of pontifex maximus, and Theodosius (379-395) made the heathen religions illegal.

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33. Altered Status of the Church

The relative positions of Christianity and the heathen religions were thus exactly reversed. Favors were showered upon Christians and Christian churches. The clergy were exempted from military and municipal duty; customs and ordinances offensive to Christians were gradually abolished; bequests to Catholic churches were legalized; the civil observance of Sunday was enjoined; support was withdrawn from the heathen temples and given to Christian churches; the whole influence of the State was thrown on the side of Christianity, even before the heathen religions were prohibited. In return, the emperors expected, and for the most part received, the obedience of the clergy, and through them of all Christians. They called themselves "bishop of the bishops," and sometimes "universal bishops." Functions that have in later times been exercised by popes were assumed by them, with little or no resistance on the part of the church.

34. The Arian Controversy

The history of the Arian controversy is a good illustration of these new imperial principles and of the relation of the Catholic Church to the Roman State. Arius was a presbyter of Alexandria who, in an attempt to find a philosophic explanation of the facts found in the Scriptures regarding Christ and his relations to the Father, taught that the Father is alone God, eternal, self-existent. The Son

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is an intermediate being between God and man, the first of created beings, who existed before all worlds and created them. He is the Image and Wisdom of God, the Logos, and may even be called God in a secondary sense, and it is right to pay him divine honors, but he had a beginning in time, and is not of the same essence with the Father. These teachings were stoutly opposed as contrary to Scripture, and philosophically defective; if Christ is not true God, there could be no mediation by him between God and man, hence no atonement, no salvation. The heart is taken out of Christianity by the teaching of Arius.

35. The Council of Nice

Constantine endeavored to suppress the controversy by imperial authority; and finding that impossible, called a council of all the bishops of the Catholic Church to settle the question. It met at Nice, near Constantinople, in 325. At first favorable to the Arians, the emperor quickly changed his attitude when he found the majority of bishops opposed. He cared little for the truth, much for the unity of the Church; and the dispute threatened to disrupt the Church, and make it of little value as a political instrument. The entire weight of imperial authority was thrown into the scale, and as a result all but two bishops voted for a creed that declared Christ to be "the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, Light of

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light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one essence with the Father." Those who held the Arian doctrine were anathematized. This is the one creed that was accepted by the whole Catholic Church, East and West alike, and hence the only one that can be properly called "ecumenical," or universal, though that title is often applied also to the so-called Apostles' and Athanasian creeds, which became accepted in the West.

36. Athanasius and the Triumph of Orthodoxy

If Alexandria originated the Arian heresy, it also furnished the chief champion of orthodoxy. Athanasius was only a presbyter, and but twenty-eight years of age, when the council of Nice was held, but was one of the most influential men present at that gathering; and though he had no vote, shaped the creed adopted. He became bishop of Alexandria in 328. Some of Constantine's successors became Arians, and persecuted the defenders of the Nicene Creed; Athanasius himself was exiled five times, but continued to uphold the truth as he saw it, even though at one time it seemed as if it were "Athanasius against the world." Theodosius called a second ecumenical council, which met in Constantinople in 381, and re-enacted the Nicene Creed. From this time on Arianism was generally regarded as heresy, and its decline was steady, though it continued to have some adherents in the East during the next two centuries.

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37. The Donatist Schism

The occasion of the schism was a disputed election of a bishop of Carthage, in 311, but the cause was a difference of opinion in regard to the treatment by the church of the *traditores,* those who had delivered up copies of the Scriptures to be burned in the Diocletian persecution. The real issue was, therefore, the nature of the church and the qualifications of its members. The Donatists made the mistake of appealing to the emperor to decide the controversy, and only after he had decided against them did they become advocates of religious liberty and the separation of the church and the civil power. Like the Novatians, they were Anabaptists; their bishops seem to have been like those of the Catholic Church; they practised the baptism of infants. The Donatists became very numerous in Africa during the fourth century, but their protest against the errors of the Catholic Church was not sufficiently scriptural to be successful, even had other conditions favored them. Under persecution they became fanatical and disorderly, and they ceased to have any importance, though remnants of them are found as late as the seventh century.

38. Results of the Union

The political and social results of the new order introduced by Constantine were almost wholly good. The State profited greatly; the empire was unified and its existence was prolonged. Christian morals

a) Favorable to the State
b) Disastrous to the Church

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made themselves felt in every part of society, especially on such social institutions as could be affected by legislation. The abolition of crucifixion, the prohibition of gladiatorial combats, the discouraging of infanticide, the facilitating of manumission of slaves, are some of the instances in which heathen laws and manners were softened by Christian influences through legislation. The codes of Theodosius and Justinian show on every page the influence of Christianity in molding the legal system of the empire. A great change in private morality is also apparent in the literature. The results on the Church, however, were little short of disastrous. Some writers speak of the Church as having conquered the State. Much more accurate is this saying of Neander: "The reign of Constantine bears witness that the State which seeks to advance Christianity by the worldly means at its command, may be the occasion of more injury to this holy cause than the earthly power which opposes it with whatever virulence." The degeneracy of the church was directly proportioned to its growth in wealth and worldly prosperity. Persecution refined and strengthened, imperial favor weakened it. What the persecution of Diocletian was powerless to accomplish, the favor of Constantine did only too well.

Bibliography

The standard church histories contain much valuable matter on the subjects covered by this chapter.

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The Quiz

What do you know of Constantine that is not in the text? What was the edict of Milan, and when was it issued? Was Constantine Christian or heathen? What was the policy of his successors? What happened to Christians and their religion in consequence of this changed policy of the State? How did the emperors regard their relation to the church? Who was Arius? What did he teach? Why were his teachings opposed? What did Constantine do to stop the controversy? What was his motive? Where and when did the first ecumenical council meet? What does "ecumenical" mean? What did the Council of Nice decide? What other creeds are called ecumenical? Are they so? Who was Athanasius? When and how did Nicene orthodoxy triumph? How did the Donatists origi-

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nate? What was the real cause of the schism? What mistake did the Donatists make? What did they teach and practise? How late did they endure? What were the results of the union of Church and State—on the State? on the Church? What lesson here for all time?

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CHAPTER IV

THE AGE OF DOGMA

39. Nature of the Controversies

It was no accident that made the fourth and fifth centuries, beyond all others in the history of the church (at least, up to the Reformation) the age of dogma. Theological controversy was a necessity under the conditions in which the Church found herself. It had become necessary to define doctrine more exactly. Such definition had not been altogether postponed, even when the church was struggling for existence, and now it must be undertaken more seriously. The question that naturally demanded first attention was the doctrine of God, and the relations of Jesus Christ to the Godhead. We have seen how the Arian controversy grew out of the first attempt to reconcile the teachings of the Scriptures, but its method was rejected by the church, which gradually evolved the doctrine of the Trinity—a doctrine not formulated in the Scriptures—thus attempting to explain the teachings of Scripture by means of Greek philosophy. This question settled, other problems growing out of the relations of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ, next pressed for solution and defi-

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nition. These questions were essentially Eastern, suggested by the speculative genius of the Oriental mind; they took little hold on the West. There questions relating to man, and to the administration of the church, in harmony with the practical and administrative instincts of the Roman race, divided the theologians. Anthropology was as distinctively the matter of study in the West as theology was in the East. And when these problems had been solved, the doctrine of the church and its sacraments demanded more definite statement, on a supposed scriptural and philosophic basis.

40. Apollinarism

Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, thought the views of his day regarding the person of Christ to be untenable. Two different natures, each complete and perfect in all its attributes, can never unite into one. Moreover, where there is complete humanity there is sin. Hence he taught that the incarnation consisted in the divine Logos coming into and dwelling in a human body, the divine intelligence and will taking the place of the human faculties. Jesus was thus God manifest in the flesh, and Apollinaris did not hesitate to say, "God died," "God was born." But it was felt that the theory of Apollinaris, however well meant, was not satisfactory. It disposed of certain difficulties, but at the cost of practically denying the genuineness of Christ's human nature. It is not the body that makes a man, but the intelli-

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gence and will; and so, according to Apollinaris, while Christ was divine, he was not in any true sense human. After being condemned in several minor synods, the theory of Apollinaris was finally rejected by the second ecumenical council, at Constantinople, in 381.

41. Nestorianism

Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople after 428, vehemently objected to the title "Mother of God," commonly applied to Mary. He maintained that God could not have a human parent, and that Mary could therefore be mother of only the human part of Christ. An opposing party, headed by Cyril of Alexandria, insisted that because of the union of the two natures, divine and human, in the one personality of Christ, Mary necessarily became the mother of both. This dispute led Nestorius to further expositions of his views, which were interpreted to mean that in Christ the divine and human natures remained distinct, coexisting and harmonious but not united, so that his was a double personality, not a single. He explained those passages of Scripture that speak of Christ as suffering, being tempted, etc., as referring only to his human nature. But this theory is quite irreconcilable with the impression that the Gospels make upon us regarding the nature of Christ. If any man was ever a single personality, all his powers uniting in whatever he thought and said and did, that man was Jesus of

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Nazareth as the Gospels present him to us. The third ecumenical council at Ephesus, in 431, condemned Nestorius, and though the favor of the emperor for a time retained him in his See he was finally driven into banishment. The controversy, however, continued with great violence, and the followers of Nestorius are still found in the East.

42. Eutychianism

Eutyches, a monk of Constantinople, advanced the theory that after the incarnation the human nature of Christ became gradually absorbed into the divine. To use his own illustration, it was as a drop of honey in the ocean. This was virtually teaching that Christ was neither human nor divine, but a compound of the two. The very body of Christ was, according to Eutyches, of a different substance from ordinary human bodies. This theory was felt to be, in some respects, more objectionable than any that preceded it. If Apollinaris practically denied the humanity of Christ, Eutyches denied to him both humanity and deity, in their proper qualities and attributes. This doctrine was also called monophysitism (from *monos,* one and *physis,* nature) as it virtually reduced Christ to a single composite nature.

43. The Council of Chalcedon

Despairing of any other settlement of the disputes, the emperor called another ecumenical coun-

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cil, which met at Chalcedon in 451. This body condemned as heresies the theories described in the preceding paragraphs, and adopted a definition of the doctrine of Christ's person which has remained to our times the standard of orthodoxy. It insisted that four elements are necessary to a complete and true idea of the person of Christ: (1) His perfect deity; (2) his perfect humanity; (3) the perfect union of these two natures in a single personality; (4) the permanent distinction of the natures thus united. "He is one Christ, existing in two natures, without mixture, without change, without division, without separation; the diversity of the two natures not being at all destroyed by their union in the person, but the peculiar properties of each nature being preserved and concurring to one nature and one substance." And that is perhaps as near as human language has ever come, or will ever come, to explaining the incomprehensible.

44. Monothelism

The long debate, however, was not yet ended; one question remained unsettled: Did each of the natures of Christ have a separate will? The doctrine of a single will, or monothelism, was first proposed, and finally rejected by the majority. The sixth ecumenical council (also known as the third of Constantinople) in 680 condemned the doctrine of a single will as heresy, and declared the orthodox doctrine to be that there were "two

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natural wills" in Christ (dyothelism). "These two natural wills are not contrary, but his human will follows the divine will, and is not resisting or reluctant, but rather subject to his divine and omnipotent will." But in modern times this theory has been felt to be beset with insuperable difficulties. Will is the essence of personality; and hence to affirm two wills while denying two persons is a contradiction in terms. Moreover, the science of psycho-physics has thrown a flood of light on the relations of body and mind, and it is now impossible to believe that one human brain can be the organ of two wills at the same time.

45. Pelagius and his Teaching

We turn now from the Eastern speculations on the nature of Christ, to the Western dispute regarding the nature of man. Pelagius, a British monk, began about 400 to teach in Rome a novel doctrine regarding man and sin. He held to the absolute freedom of the human will. The sin of Adam did not affect his posterity, because each soul is a new creation of God and sinless. Hence the only effect of sin is as a bad example. The grace of God assists every man to choose and do the good, and he might remain sinless if he would—in fact, some men have been sinless, and have been saved by their perfect keeping of the law of God. These teachings were at once opposed. The Pelagian explanation of the observed fact of universal sin, as due to the

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effect of bad example, was felt to be absurdly inadequate. His doctrine of the freedom of the will, in the sense that every man is absolutely without bias toward evil, and can as easily choose the good as the evil, contradicts every man's moral consciousness. The assertion that some men have been saved by the law, and all might be, makes the gospel comparatively useless, almost an impertinence.

46. Augustine

After a dissolute youth, Augustine was converted, mainly through the influence of his Christian mother, Monica, and in 395 became bishop of Hippo, in Africa, where he spent his remaining years. In personal character he was blameless, in ability as administrator marked, as a scholar he was among the first of his age, as theologian he was one of the greatest of all ages. His knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was not remarkable, but he had great insight into the meaning of the Scriptures, and hence his compositions are still of high value. It was the complete and systematic setting forth of the teaching of the Scriptures, however, that was his chief contribution to Christian literature. He maintained the opposite to the teachings of Pelagius: that the sin of Adam affected his posterity, since his sinful nature was transmitted to them. In consequence of this inherited sin, man's will is in bondage and he cannot choose the good on account of his native bias toward the evil. His will is in-

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deed free, in the sense that no power outside of himself compels it; but not free in the sense that it can choose the holy and the true. The compulsion to evil is inward, not outward, but it is irresistible. These theories correspond better to observed fact and to general experience than those of Pelagius. Augustine also taught those doctrines of grace, and of the divine foreordination and election that were revived by Calvin and have been known in modern times as Calvinism.

47. The Catholic Theology

Augustine was also, if not the author, at least the best systematic expounder and defender of that system that became known as the Catholic theology, the doctrine of the church and the sacraments. He taught that though the ground of salvation is the divine election of grace, the means by which salvation is secured and applied is the church and her sacraments. Here Augustine departs from his strictly biblical method and has recourse to tradition to eke out his arguments. There is one Catholic Church, which derives its teaching from Christ and the Apostles, and is therefore the body of Christ and the mother of Christians. This church is conspicuously visible, and perfect truth is found only in her. Baptism washes away all sins, and is hence necessary to salvation; the unbaptized must be left to the mercy of God, but martyrdom takes the place of baptism. Unbaptized infants cannot attain the

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kingdom of God, not even to "Paradise." Perceiving an obvious contradiction between his doctrines of election and infant baptism, Augustine lamely suggests that possibly baptized infants dying in infancy would have repented had they lived, and the unbaptized would not. Baptism is rightly received only in the Catholic Church, yet as it is a sacrament of Christ even the baptism of heretics is valid. "I should have no hesitation in saying that all men possess baptism who have received it in any place, from any sort of men, provided that it were consecrated in the words of the gospel, and received without deceit on their part with some degree of faith," for validity is not dependent on the character of the ministrant. The Eucharist is "the sacred offering and participating of the body and blood of Christ." It may be offered as a sacrifice for the dead, but not for the unbaptized.

48. The Catholic Worship

The transformation of the Christian worship that had begun in the Ante-Nicene period (Sec. 32) continued with rapidity in the following centuries. The doctrine of the mass is fully developed in this period. While the one great sacrifice was made on Calvary where Christ shed his blood, these unbloody sacrifices are offered daily on the altars of the church in commemoration, rather than as a repetition, of the antitype. The worship of saints became universal, to the displacement of the worship of

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God. Adoration of Mary the "Mother of God" became the special feature of devotion after the fifth century, and to her mediation rather than that of Christ men looked for deliverance and help. The honors thus paid to the saints led to the placing of their pictures and images in the churches, at first perhaps as mere memorials, but afterward as aids to worship. Sunday continued to be the chief day of worship. The great feast cycle of the church was that of Easter, preceded by Lent, which became fixed at a period of forty days, beginning with Ash Wednesday. Passion week was observed with special ceremony. The custom of observing the anniversary of the death of the martyrs (their "birthdays," as they were beautifully called) was the beginning of saints' days—or special days set apart in the calendar, each in honor of some saint. By the sixth century the calendar assumed a tolerably fixed and universal character. To this period also belong the beginnings of church hymnody and hymnology. Many of the Fathers of this period were noted as hymn-writers, but few of their compositions before the time of Ambrose have survived.

49. Rise of Monachism

Monachism is an institution by no means peculiar to Christianity. It is to be found in some form in nearly all religions. Christian monachism has its origin in two ideas: (1) Salvation by works, and (2) the essential evil of matter. The former idea

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is native to the heart of man, and is universal in its manifestations; Christianity has vainly tried to displace it with the idea of salvation by grace. The second idea was introduced into the church from the East, and the whole church became gradually imbued with the idea that the highest type of piety is self-denial, not for Christ's sake, but for its own sake, as something meritorious in itself. The more ascetic a Christian was, the greater became his sanctity. Monachism was the consistent expression of the church's ideal of piety. Both in its beginning and throughout its history it was more or less a religious revival. In a perverted way, but nevertheless really, monachism has witnessed to the desire of men for nearness to God.

Three stages are traceable in the development of monachism. The first is the hermit or anchorite stage. Paul of Thebes is said to have been the first hermit. He fled into upper Egypt to escape the Decian persecution, and then devoted himself to a life of solitude and prayer. The high repute for sanctity gained by these first hermits led others to become their imitators, and soon every desert was dotted with the cells of these anchorites. As their numbers increased the principle of complete solitude was abandoned; several hermits would gather in a little community. This is the second stage of monachism. The third stage is due to Pachomius (born 292), who in youth served as a soldier, but afterward adopted the hermit life. In 325 he had a

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vision directing him to found a community on the island of Tabennæ, in the Nile. A three years' probation preceded entrance into the society. No irrevocable vow was taken. The time of monks was divided between sleep, spiritual exercises, and manual labor—the community supporting itself by agriculture, boat-building, and the weaving of baskets, mats, etc. The rule of silence was absolute; communication was by signs only.

The growth of monachism was wonderful. Before the death of Pachomius (348), his order had extended to eight or nine cloisters and three thousand members, while a century later the number of monks is estimated at fifty thousand. From Egypt the cloisters spread over the entire East, and by Athanasius the institution was introduced into the West. Before the end of the fourth century monachism had been established in Gaul, and probably in Britain and Ireland also.

Bibliography

The best available account of the Arian controversy and the Council of Nice is in Stanley's *Eastern Church,* lect. iii, iv. Killen's *The Old Catholic Church* (Scribner, $3), and Rainy's *Ancient Catholic Church* (Scribner, $2.50) are valuable books, Rainey's the later and fresher. A help not only for this controversy, but for many other subjects to be studied, is Fisher's *History of Doctrine* (Scribner, $2.50). Scott's *Nicene Theology* is most valu-

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able for advanced students (Chicago: Seminary Press, $2). On the later subjects of the chapter, the writings of Augustine, in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* are the chief source of knowledge (14 vols., Scribner, $4 each). Not many can be expected to read much in these, but all should read Augustine's *Confessions* (many editions, from 50 cents up). Two small but choice books on monachism are: Harnack, *Monasticism,* a lecture, and the most illuminating discussion of the subject to be found anywhere (London, 4s.), and Kingsley, *The Hermits* (Macmillan, $1.25). Helpful articles will be found in encyclopedias on Arius, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzen, Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Pachomius.

The Quiz

Why was this the age of dogma? What other questions followed the Arian controversy? Where were they principally discussed? What questions absorbed the West? Who was Apollinaris? What did he teach? What objection was made to his doctrine? Where and when was it rejected? Who was Nestorius? To what did he object? What further did he teach? Why is his theory unsatisfactory? Where was it rejected? Who was Eutyches? What did he teach? What is the objection to his theory? Where was the fourth ecumenical council held? What did it decide to be the true theory of Christ's person? What authority has its

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decision? What is monothelism? How was the question decided? What is the modern objection to dyothelism? Who was Pelagius? What did he teach about sin? About the freedom of the will? Does experience sustain his teachings? Tell what you know about Augustine. What is his rank among Christian teachers? What did he teach about sin? the will? the doctrines of grace? What is the Catholic doctrine of the church? the sacraments? What is the doctrine of the mass? What other feature of the Catholic worship of this period do you remember? In what ideas did monachism originate? What three stages may be traced in its history? What men are identified with these stages? Who was Pachomius? Describe the spread of monachism.

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CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF THE PAPACY 325 - 768.

50. The Five Patriarchates

While purely ecclesiastical forces appear to have caused the rise of the episcopate, political influence was dominant in the further development. The bishop of a metropolis in time gained a position in the church corresponding to the political and commercial importance of his See. The Council of Nice recognized three of these metropolitans as chief in dignity and jurisdiction: the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. When Constantine made Byzantium the eastern capital of the empire (329), the hitherto unimportant bishop of that city became a great dignitary, and by the second ecumenical council was recognized as being second in dignity to the bishop of Rome, because Constantinople was "new Rome." The bishop of Jerusalem was also recognized as belonging in this class, not because of the importance of his See, but because Jerusalem was the mother church. A certain primacy of honor was conceded to the bishop of Rome, because the tradition that Peter was the founder and first bishop of this church was generally accepted from the third century onward.

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But no special powers were either exercised or claimed by the Roman bishop at first. These five metropolitan bishops came to have the honorary title of "patriarch."

51. The Division of the Empire

When in 364 the empire was divided between Valens and Valentinian, both territory and authority were divided. From this time edicts were issued in the separate names of the emperors of East and West, and yet to some extent the fiction of a single empire was maintained. Two results followed, both traceable to the character and functions of the Roman emperors. After these emperors became nominally Christian, and abandoned the old heathen title and functions of pontifex maximus, they became high priests of the Christian religion, and a sacred character and function was attributed to them. While the empire endured in the West, the emperor practically divided authority over the church with the bishop of Rome. But the fall of the Western empire left a vacancy in the West, into which the successive Roman bishops were prompt to step. Relieved of the overshadowing imperial power, there was an opportunity for the development of the Roman patriarchate into the universal dominion of the papacy. The bishop of Rome absorbed most of the imperial functions, as these related to the church, and thus the foundation of the papacy was laid. In the East the result was pre-

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cisely the reverse. The emperors retained and even increased their power over the Church, until the patriarch of Constantinople became a mere shadow and the real head of the Eastern Church was the emperor. It might therefore be said that two papacies were developed in Christendom: in the East a secular, in the West a spiritual, pope.

52. The Teutonic Migrations

From the early days of the republic the Romans were exposed to attack from the North. From this menace they were freed only by Cæsar's conquest of Gaul; and then a new danger arose, the movement westward of the Teutons. The pressure of the Huns in their rear became irresistible, and the Teutonic tribes broke through the boundaries of the empire, beat down its feeble military resistance, overran its fertile provinces, and made spoil of its wealth. At the close of the fifth century the Western empire had disappeared, and the Eastern empire retained in Europe only the dioceses of Thracia, Dacia, and Macedonia, and in Africa only Egypt. This irruption of the barbarians was sudden and overwhelming, yet far less destructive than it has sometimes been represented. The population was neither exterminated nor enslaved. The invaders were at first a hostile army of occupation; then they settled down as lords of the soil. Ultimately they were either driven out or became assimilated to the people. In the latter case they

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gradually adopted the language, the laws, the customs, the religion of the Romans. The result was that the conquerors had become the conquered.

53. **Ulfilas** — The Teutons had begun to abandon their heathen religion before their migration, and some of the tribes entered the empire partially Christian. This was due to the missionary labors of Ulfilas (properly *Wulfila,* little wolf), who was born about 311, and was early made a captive by the Goths. Later he was educated at Constantinople and entered the church. He then became a missionary to the people whom he had learned to love, and in 341 was consecrated bishop. He reduced the Gothic language to writing, and made a version of the Scriptures. Before his death (381) he saw the Gothic nation substantially converted. His version of the Scriptures was largely influential in extending Christianity among the allied Teutonic tribes. Ulfilas was bred in the Arian faith, and it was the Arian form of Christianity that thus came to be held by the Teutonic peoples generally, and at one time therefore seemed likely to prevail in the West. The turning of the tide came with the firm establishment of the kingdom of the Franks under Clovis. Through the influence of his wife Clotilde, a Christian princess of Burgundy, he professed himself a Christian, and with him three thousand of his people were baptized by Remigius, archbishop of

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Rheims (496). Thus from the first the Franks fell under Roman influence and were inclined toward the orthodox faith. Gradually the other Teutonic kingdoms vanished, while the Frankish kingdom waxed in power, and the triumph of the Franks was the triumph of the Catholic faith and hierarchy.

54. Patrick

Another mission some half a century later than that of Ulfilas, had important results. Patrick was born about 375 near Dumbarton, Scotland, and in his youth was captured by a band of Irish and made a slave to their chief. While employed as a herdsman, he had time to meditate on his early religious training and his sinful life, and the result was his conversion. He escaped from his captivity and later became a missionary to the Irish people. His labors were most successful. He baptized thousands of converts in fountains, wells, and streams. He established monasteries for both men and women, which soon became centers of learning and missionary effort. From the fifth century to the tenth, Ireland was the most enlightened region in Western Europe, and a more evangelical form of religion prevailed. Ireland was one of the last countries to become obedient to the popes.

55. Leo the Great

The Roman bishops founded their claims to supremacy on two ideas: (1) That Christ had made

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Peter chief of the apostles and given him the keys (Matt. 16 : 18, 19) as well as made him chief pastor of all Christians (John 21 : 15-17); (2) the tradition that Peter was the first bishop of Rome, which came to be generally accepted throughout the church. Leo (440-461) asserted these claims with such vigor and success that he is often called "the first of the popes." He taught that the Roman See is the head of all the churches, and it is the duty of all churches to submit to its authority and abide by its decisions. Councils are subordinate to the successor of Peter. Other bishops possess ordinary authority, but his is extraordinary and superabounding authority, since he sits in the chair of Peter. Leo obtained from the Emperor Valentinian an edict that required all churches in the West to submit all ecclesiastical disputes to the bishop of Rome and made his decision final. This was the legal basis for papal power. The title of pope (from the Greek *papa*, father) was at first common to all bishops, and did not become the exclusive title of the Roman bishop until the eleventh century.

56. Advance of Monachism in the West

Benedict of Nursia (480-543), founded the monastery of Monte Casino, in 528, and the following year his rule. The vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience was to be taken. The vow of poverty required a monk to have nothing of his own. Humility is enjoined as a chief virtue, and next to that

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industry. Labor was commanded for at least six hours of the day, and reading for two hours. Half the night was given to sleep. The other hours of day and night were sacred to religious offices; even at mealtimes some one was to read to the rest. Silence was commended at all times, commanded at night. Monks slept in separate beds, clothed and girt so as to be able to rise instantly for prayer. Ordinarily there were two meals, dinner and supper (but one on Wednesdays and Saturdays, at mid-afternoon). At dinner there could be but two cooked dishes, but a third of vegetables might be added. One pound of bread and a pint of wine were the daily rations. The Benedictines grew rapidly. It is a mistake to think of this order as ascetic; had it been, it would have been both less numerous and less potent for good. It commended itself to women equally with men. The rise of the Benedictines coincided with the material and social development of Northern and Western Europe, after the end of the Teutonic migrations. When this movement ceased, it became possible to open up to civilization the unexplored tracts of Germany and Scandinavia, and to reclaim from barbarism the ancient domains of the empire. The monks were the chief agency in accomplishing this. They were the missionaries and the pioneers. A medieval monastery was an agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial community. These monks cleared the forests, brought the soil under cultivation, established trades, sold and ex-

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changed their products. They were friends of learning, gathering libraries, copying MSS, establishing and maintaining schools. Their houses were the inns, hospitals, and asylums of the time. They were the one institution that was stable, whose rights were always respected, that offered a safe refuge to the oppressed and the world-wearied. Modern civilization almost owes its existence to the system.

57. Gregory the Great

Gregory was the scion of an ancient patrician family of Rome, well educated according to the standard of his time, had a successful secular career, but withdrew from the world, became a monk, and used his patrimony to found a monastery. Much against his own desire he was elevated to the papacy, and his pontificate (590-604) is one of the most influential in the history of the church. Gregory was not remarkable for the greatness of his pretensions, but if he did not waste words in making high claims for the Roman See, he lost no opportunity of extending its influence. The state of Italy was such that a strong hand was greatly needed in Rome, and Gregory's was the strongest hand. He became the virtual ruler of the city, and the chief force in Southern Italy. This was largely by virtue of his powers as a landed proprietor, the pope being now the largest landowner in Italy. The most notable thing in Gregory's pontificate was, however, the beginning of a great expansion of Roman Christianity,

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that ultimately extended to the extreme northern limit of the continent. This policy, begun by him, was faithfully continued by his successors. The popes had a double motive in this work, both religious and political. We need not deny to them a genuine desire for the salvation of the heathen such as any Christian ought to feel, if we conclude that a still stronger motive was the extension of the papal power. The possibility of such extension was limited on the east by the opposition of the Greek Church, on the south by the barbarism of Africa. The line of least resistance, if not the only possible line of advance, was to the west and north. The evangelization of Germany and Scandinavia and England under Roman direction meant a vast increase of papal power. No wonder the popes promoted missions.

58. Augustine's Mission to England

The latest stage in the Teutonic migrations was the conquest of Britain by the Angles and Saxons, the result of which was the almost complete displacement of the Keltic population, Christianized and partly civilized under Roman rule, by a barbarous and pagan race. Angle-land became completely Teutonic in race, language, laws, religion. The project of evangelizing these people seems to have first occurred to Gregory, then a monk in the monastery of St. Andrew. Prevented by his election to the papacy from engaging personally in it,

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he sent a pupil named Augustine, with a company of monks. Landing in Kent, Augustine was favorably received by King Ethelbert, whose wife (Bertha) was a Christian princess of the Franks. In a little time many were converted, including Ethelbert himself. Augustine became the first Archbishop of Canterbury, and within a century all England was nominally Christianized. Gradually the remaining British churches in the North and West were absorbed. This newly founded church in England was distinctly Roman, in origin and usages.

59. Boniface and Germany

England, having thus been made a Christian nation, became in turn a center of missionary effort. A young Englishman named Winfrith, who took the name of Boniface on becoming a monk, began labors among the Frisians in 715. In 718 he visited Rome, was consecrated bishop, and took an oath of allegiance to the pope. His labors throughout Germany were abundant, and he not only succeeded in converting thousands of the heathen, but in consolidating the German Church and making it obedient to the pope. Though not the first of missionaries to Germany, he was the greatest, having extraordinary qualities of leadership and gifts for organization, and he did more than all others of his age to extend the influence of the Roman See. He found a martyr's death at the hands of pagan Frisians in 755.

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60. Mohammed and Islam

While the Western Church was thus expanding its area and power, the Eastern Church was threatened with extinction by a new religion that had risen and was disputing with Christianity the dominion of the world. This was Islam, the religion proclaimed by Mohammed, an Arabian, who declared himself to be the last and greatest of God's prophets. Compelled to flee from Mecca in 622, he established himself at Medina, and before his death all Arabia was subject to his power. At first advocating the peaceful teaching of the truth, he afterward chose the sword as the chief means of propagating his faith. Islam was an advance on the pagan and idolatrous religions of Arabia, but its ethical system is far below that of Christianity. In his earlier career, Mohammed was apparently a sincere religious teacher, but the possession of power caused him to deteriorate in character, and lowered the tone of his teaching. The teachings of Mohammed were gathered after his death, and form the Koran, the sacred scriptures of his followers, who believe the book to be inspired and infallible.

61. The Mohammedan Conquests

Successive waves of conquest carried the Mohammedan power and the Mohammedan faith forward, until it seemed that the whole world was to become Mohammedan. Within five years after the death of the prophet, the great cities of Bosra, Da-

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mascus, and Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of his followers. A campaign against Persia followed, which was completely successful; between 632 and 651 that country was entirely subdued. The victorious arms of the new faith were next turned against Egypt, which was overrun in three years. The conquest of Africa required more time, being completed between 647 and 698. At the beginning of the eighth century the followers of Mohammed passed over into Spain, and in eight years the conquest of the peninsula was finished. They then crossed the Pyrenees, and threatened to overrun Gaul, but now the advance was checked. The Franks had been increasing in power in the meantime, and had had warning enough to collect their forces and make a successful resistance. On the plains of Tours, Charles Martel met the Saracens under Abderrahman. This was one of the decisive battles of the world, and the ensuing defeat of the Saracens settled once for all the question whether Europe should be Christian or Mohammedan. The East was also saved for a time; all the Asiatic and African provinces of the empire were lost, but Constantinople remained invincible, and for centuries was an insuperable barrier against a further Mohammedan advance.

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62. Causes of this Advance

They are not far to seek. The Eastern empire was almost ready to fall of its own weight, so weak-

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ened was its military power by the general corruption of the imperial system. The valor of the Arab warriors, inspired by the tenets of their religion, explains much. The fatalistic theology of the Koran inspired a contempt for danger; no one could die but by the will of God, and die he must when God's time came, in battle or out of it. No wonder such warriors conquered. But the faith as well as the sword of the Mohammedans was victor in the contest with the corrupt Christianity of the East. The people, to a large extent, voluntarily gave up their Christian belief and accepted the new religion. The treatment of the conquered populations by their Mohammedan conquerors was astonishingly humane. There was no slaughter except in battle; captives were permitted to obtain ransom; cities were not given over to pillage and rapine; property was not destroyed. Mohammedan government was more just and less corrupt than that of the empire. Nor was the Christian religion wiped out of existence. There was more toleration of Christians than was known in any Christian country for heretics until a very recent period.

63. The Lombard Kingdom 568-774

Though the bishops of Rome continually increased their jurisdiction and power, there were occasional checks to this process of development. During the sixth century the Emperor Justinian reconquered a great part of the Western empire,

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and restored his authority over Italy. From his time onward, in theory at least, no pope could be lawfully consecrated without the consent of the emperor, and the imperial edicts must be obeyed by him. About 568 the Lombards invaded Italy and established a new kingdom, which lasted two centuries, and by the eighth century threatened to subjugate all Italy. The Lombards were the least civilized of all the Teutonic tribes, Arian in faith, and their rulers were men with whom no binding compacts could be made. The pope was compelled to look about him for protection; the emperor was unable to give it; he therefore appealed to the king of the Franks.

64. The Pope Becomes a Temporal Sovereign

Pepin of France, son of Charles Martel, was nothing loath. He was the real king of France, but his title was only mayor of the palace. The pope was prevailed upon to decree the deposition of the weak Merovingian king, and anoint Pepin his successor. In return, Pepin invaded Italy, defeated the Lombards in two campaigns, and bestowed on the pope a portion of the conquered territory. The son of Pepin, Charles the Great, completed the work of destroying the Lombard kingdom in 744, and confirmed this grant of territory. Before this the pope had been the greatest landowner in Italy, but now he began to assume the title and state of a temporal sovereign. Henceforth he could treat

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with the crowned heads of Europe on a footing of political equality, while he could also claim ecclesiastical supremacy. A rapid development of the papacy, both in theory and in actual power, became not only possible but inevitable. By assuming the power to depose one king and crown another, the pope had in effect placed himself above all earthly dominions and made himself supreme arbiter in temporal affairs, as well as in spiritual.

Bibliography

Besides the general church histories, two important works cover much of the ground traversed in this chapter: Gregorovius, *History of Rome in the Middle Ages,* a work of unexcelled learning and authority (Macmillan, Vols. I-III, $2 each; Vols. IV-VIII, $3 each). Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders* (Clarendon Press, 8 vols. 138s.). These may be found in large libraries, but their price is prohibitive for private ownership. But Hodgkin's *Theodoric* (Putnam, $1.50) is more available and contains the essence of his greater work. Less costly books are: Rivington's *Primitive Church and the See of Peter,* by a Roman Catholic (Longmans, $2.50) and Bright's *Roman See in the Early Church* (Longmans, $2), in large part an answer by a Church of England scholar. On Patrick, Cathcart's *Ancient British and Irish Churches* is valuable (A. B. P. S., $1.50), while Bury's *Life of St. Patrick* is the latest and most scholarly book

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(Macmillan, $3.25). The Rule of Benedict will be found in Henderson's *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (Bohn series, $1.50), and several essays of value are in Fisher's *Discussions in History and Theology,* especially one on the temporal power (Scribner, $3). Excellent works on Mohammed and his religion are: Irving, *Mohammed and his Successors* (2 vols., Putnam, $1.50), and Johnstone, *Mohammed and his Power* (Scribner, $1.25). See also encyclopedia articles on Ulfilas, Patrick, Leo, Benedict, Gregory, Augustine, Boniface, Monasticism, Mohammed, Koran.

The Quiz

What is meant by a metropolitan? How did the title differ from patriarch? How many bishops were called patriarchs? Why these only? Did the bishop of Rome have any superiority at first? When was the Roman empire divided? What consequences followed? How did this affect the growth of the papacy? Why did not a papacy develop in the East as well as in the West? What caused the Teutonic invasion of the empire? What were its results? Who was Ulfilas? What people did he evangelize? With what results? What is the historic importance of the Franks? Who was Patrick? What was the character of his mission? How did he come to be a Roman Catholic "saint"? What is the theory on which the papacy is founded? What did Leo teach? What gave a legal basis for papal author-

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ity? What does "pope" mean? How did it become the title of the bishop of Rome? Who was Benedict? Describe his rule. What did the monks accomplish? Has monachism been a beneficent institution? Who was Gregory? What was the foundation of his power? Why is his pontificate notable? How did Britain again become heathen? Who was the agent of its reconversion? What is the pedigree of the Church of England? Who was Boniface? Where did he labor? What did he accomplish? What is the religion of Mohammed? What is the Koran? Describe the Mohammedan advances. What explains this great victory? What was the Lombard kingdom? How did the pope become a secular ruler?

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CHAPTER VI

THE GROWTH OF PAPAL PRETENSIONS

65. Charlemagne

Charles succeeded Pepin in 768. In his long reign of forty-six years he subjugated the Saxons and Avars, and brought all Western Europe under his authority, restoring law and order from the chaos that had followed the barbarian incursions. On Christmas Day, 800 A. D., he was crowned emperor by Leo III. This accomplished the restoration of the Western empire, which retained at least a nominal existence for more than a thousand years. Charles the Great was one of the great lawgivers and administrators of history. He gave much attention to education, and with the help of Alcuin, one of the renowned scholars of the age, established a system of schools throughout the empire. His reign marks the beginning of a new intellectual life in Europe. He was also the zealous protector of the church, called synods, and in many ways showed great interest in the progress of religion. His successors had little of his ability, and his vast empire soon fell to pieces, but his laws and institutions in large part remained. Some of his schools developed into the later universities.

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66. The Holy Roman Empire

Otho I, elected king of Germany in 936, restored the empire in part, and was crowned emperor in Rome in 962. Henceforth it was an essentially German State, though known by the magnificent title of the Holy Roman Empire. This empire was a necessity during the Middle Ages as the complement to the Holy Roman Church. The papacy had achieved its independence of the Eastern emperors, but it still felt the need of a powerful protector. Gradually there grew up a theory of church and empire, that was intended to justify the existence of both and to define their relations. There was, and from the nature of the case could be, but one supreme *imperium*, or civil power. Rome was the ancient seat of that imperium, and every imperator must be chosen by the people of Rome and crowned in that city. Likewise there could be but one universal *sacerdotium*, or supreme religious power. Peter, as chief of the apostles, had established this also in Rome and transmitted it to his successors. Pope and emperor were therefore supreme, each in his several sphere. The empire was to be the protector and civil arm of the church; the church, through its head, was the spiritual director and guide of all men, including the emperor himself. This was in theory a magnificent scheme, one of the noblest conceptions of the Middle Ages. Its defect was that it was impossible of realization. There is not room enough in the world for two powers, each claim-

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ing supremacy. Though in theory there was no possible conflict between emperor and pope, since their spheres were entirely separate, in practice it was certain that the spheres would be found to overlap and conflict.

67. The Dark Ages

The name Dark Ages is commonly applied to the centuries intervening between the death of Charlemagne and the movement known as the Renaissance —the ninth to the eleventh centuries inclusive. The name is not a very happy one, for, as Coleridge said, these are dark ages chiefly because we are in the dark about them. There was no such total ignorance and decay of learning as has sometimes been imagined, yet compared to the classic period and to modern times, this may be called an interval of darkness. There was a dearth of original production in literature and art that implies a certain degree of mental stagnation. It was a time of stagnation in the Church also, and consequently a time of degeneration. Religion and ethics, piety and morals, were generally divorced. It was a period of great external devotion; never were men more precise and scrupulous in fulfilling the outward requirements of religion, but the power of godliness was conspicuously lacking. In the midst of the social confusion, the Church was a great conservative power; and though it was itself corrupted by the evils about it, there was no other in-

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stitution that did or could exert so great an influence for the moral and material uplifting of men.

68. Ansgar

It is not a little remarkable that the Dark Ages produced two of the greatest missionary movements in the history of Christianity. The first was a prolongation of one that we have already studied. The conversion of England and Germany gave the Roman Church a preponderating influence among the Teutonic peoples of the West, and also a base of operations for further missions. In the ninth century Harold, king of the Danes, accepted Christianity and was baptized, during a visit to the French court. Louis the Pious (814-840) sent Ansgar, a young French monk, to preach the gospel among Harold's people. After many difficulties and vicissitudes, Christianity became established in Denmark. Ansgar, who had been made archbishop in 829, also laid the foundations of a Christian Church in Sweden. From Sweden the gospel was carried to Norway in the tenth century, and about the year 1000 a mission was begun in Iceland. Later, Greenland, and even parts of the North American coast, were colonized by Scandinavians, who carried the gospel with them. But this proved to be only a temporary work; and the settlement and evangelization of North America were accomplished by other means. Western and Northern Europe were now at least nominally Christianized, and were

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genuinely Romanized. Augustine, Boniface, and Ansgar made possible, if not inevitable, Hildebrand and Innocent III. The Roman missions had their logical sequel in the Roman papacy.

69. Cyril and Methodius

Another great missionary movement originated during this period with the church of the East—the evangelization of the Slav race. It began among the Bulgarians about the middle of the ninth century; and the next to receive the gospel were the Moravians. Cyril and Methodius, who were sent to them from Constantinople, reduced their language to writing, and gave them a liturgy and a version of the Scriptures in their own tongue, which became the common heritage of the Slav race, and greatly promoted the progress of the gospel among them. From this country the gospel was carried to Bohemia and thence to Poland, and was also preached among the Wends. By the end of the eleventh century, all these peoples had ceased to be heathen. These countries were, however, by various means, eventually brought under the authority of the pope, and the Latin liturgy and the Vulgate displaced their ancient Slav versions. The East sowed the seed, but the West reaped the harvest.

70. Vladimir

It was different in this respect among the Russians, who have ever remained faithful to the church

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from which they received their knowledge of Christianity. The gospel began to find an entrance among them early in the tenth century. Vladimir, king of Novgorod, decided about 988 to become a Christian, and characteristically commanded all his people to be baptized with him in the Dnieper at Kiew, and they as characteristically obeyed. Kiew became the center of the new ecclesiastical system; a church was at once built in honor of St. Basil, and Michael, the first metropolitan, established his See here. From the day of Vladimir, the Russian national hero and saint, we must count the Russian Church as in some sort established among a Christian people. No missionary movement in the history of Christianity has been fraught with greater consequences than this evangelization of the Slavs. Its full results we are not yet able to compute.

71. The Schism between East and West

The exalted pretensions on the part of the Roman bishops were never accepted in the East, where the patriarch of Constantinople was regarded as the honorary head of the Church. An ecclesiastical separation was inevitable. Other causes entered into the matter—differences of usage, differences of doctrine—but the claim of papal supremacy was the real cause of disunion. The actual separation came in 1054, the occasion being some trivial disputes over ritual and discipline. The pope excommunicated the patriarch of Constantinople and the whole

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Eastern Church; the patriarch returned the sentence and excommunicated the West. The schism continues to this day, though many attempts have been made to heal it. The chief obstacle to reunion is the same thing that produced the schism—the insistence on universal supremacy in the church by the bishop of Rome, which the East still refuses to acknowledge, holding that he is indeed patriarch of the West, but has no authority or jurisdiction in the East.

72. The False Decretals

One of the most effective weapons used by the popes in the attempt to increase their authority was a collection of documents put forth in the name of Isidore Mercator. It consists of canons of councils, papal decretals, and letters, all of which were received as genuine, but have been shown to be in large part clumsy forgeries. Internal evidence proves that these documents were composed by some French ecclesiastic, and published about 850. Though not devised in the papal interest, they were eagerly seized by the popes and used to promote their influence and jurisdiction. It was largely by the use of these forged documents that the supreme power of the Roman bishop was established; but though even Roman Catholic scholars now admit the false character of the decretals, Rome never gives up what she has won, whether by fair means or foul.

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73. Gregory VII

The papal claims culminated with the election of Hildebrand as pope, in 1073. He had long been the real director of the Church, and now became its head. In intellect he was the greatest of the popes and the greatest man of his age. His one purpose in life was to exalt the Roman Church, and his idea of its functions was more than imperial. He claimed for his office no less than world-wide authority. Europe was to be a great theocracy, in which the Church should be the center of power, and the pope, as Christ's vicar and head of the Church, should receive the homage and obedience of all secular princes. He set a standard of theory and practice to which his successors have faithfully tried to conform. Though his pontificate lasted but twelve years, it was the most memorable in the history of the Roman Church.

74. His Reforms

As a first step toward the realization of his ideas, Gregory VII undertook the reform of the Church as he understood reform. There had long been a rule that the clergy should not marry, but it had been a dead letter in some countries, and ill enforced in all. Hildebrand commanded its rigid enforcement, and from his time onward it was recognized that clerical celibacy was the universal law of the Western Church. The attempt to enforce this law, especially in Germany, was stoutly resisted, but the

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authority of the pope finally prevailed. By this means Gregory and his successors built up a strong ecclesiastical machine, composed of men whom no local or family ties restrained from absolute loyalty to the Church and its head. But though it was found possible to enforce the law of celibacy, it proved impossible to secure clerical chastity, and great moral evils have continued to result from the requirement of a celibate priesthood—evils that the Eastern Church almost entirely escapes by permitting, and even requiring the marriage of its priests. To understand another reform attempted by this pope, we must first glance at the organization of society during the Middle Ages, the feudal system.

75. Feudalism

Out of the civil and political disorders that resulted from the decay of Charlemagne's empire sprang the institutions of feudalism. The weak had to seek the protection of the strong, and a social system was gradually established, of which the central feature was land tenure founded on rendering military service. The vassal was bound to give certain service in return for his use of the land, while the lord promised on his part protection of the vassal. The Church, as owner of lands, was compelled to seek the protection of some powerful lord. Thus the bishops and abbots became vassals, and had secular rights and duties as well as spiritual. It was not uncommon for ecclesiastics to take the

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field at the head of their retainers, and some were more renowned for valor than for learning or piety. Emperors and kings had reason to take an active interest in the appointment of the higher ecclesiastics, who were on the one hand secular princes and nobles, and on the other prelates of the Church and channels of divine grace. The emperor claimed the right to nominate them and "invest" them with the insignia of their authority, as they were his vassals. The pope held that he alone could invest them with authority, as he was their spiritual head. Here were all the materials for a fine quarrel.

76. The War of Investitures

It was necessary, if Gregory's policy were to be carried out, that bishops and other prelates should be freed from secular control and brought into more complete subjection to the papacy. Lay investiture was a symbol of secular control of the Church, therefore Gregory attacked it. In a synod held at Rome in 1075, it was declared that no ecclesiastic should henceforth receive lay investiture; if he did he should thereby be excommunicated, and the ceremony was null and void. This brought the pope and the emperor into conflict. Henry IV called a synod at Worms, which passed a decree of deposition against Gregory. He retorted by excommunicating Henry and releasing his subjects from allegiance to him. There was danger that they would take advantage of this release, and the em-

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peror was compelled to sue for the pope's pardon. He made a journey across the Alps in dead of winter, and found Gregory at Canossa, where, after a long and humiliating penance, he was absolved. This was a striking demonstration of the papal power, but after all the victory was with Henry, for he took advantage of his absolution to gather an army against the pope, and in spite of a second excommunication, drove him from the city and set up a rival pope in Rome. Hildebrand died shortly after at Salerno. Successive popes and emperors carried on the struggle, and it finally ended in a drawn battle. A compromise known as the Concordat of Worms was arranged in 1122, by the terms of which it was agreed that the emperor or his representative should preside at the election of a bishop, and invest him with his lands and secular authority by the touch of the scepter; while the ring and staff, the symbols of spiritual authority, should be bestowed by the pope or his representative.

77. Berengar and Transubstantiation

Starting from the common ground of belief in a Real Presence in the elements, one party in the Church held that Christ is present literally and corporeally, and is actually received by all communicants, and the sacrament becomes therefore an *opus operatum,* effective in and of itself irrespective of the state of faith in the communicant. Another school maintained that while Christ was really pres-

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ent in the elements, reception of him was conditioned on faith in the communicant. As the materialistic doctrine gained ground, the necessity was felt of supplying a philosophical basis for it. This was first found by Paschatus Radbertus in the philosophy of Aristotle, and its distinction between substance and accidents. He taught (831) that "the substance of the bread and wine is effectually changed into the flesh and blood of Christ," while the accidents or sensible qualities remain the same. Though the opposition to this teaching was strong and persistent, yet by the eleventh century it had become so generally accepted that denial of it was treated as heresy. The latest and most able opponent of transubstantiation was Berengar (1045). He was the personal friend of Hildebrand, who used all his power to discourage prosecution. Yet in spite of his great ability he could find no adherents, and the power of Hildebrand was not sufficient to save him from condemnation. Berengar was compelled by the Lateran synod of 1059 to recant his heresy, and again at the Second Lateran Council of 1079 a still further recantation was required of him. It was not, however, until the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) defined transubstantiation as an article of faith that condemnation of such as Berengar was strictly lawful. The withdrawal of the cup, enjoined by Honorius III, in 1217, was almost a necessary consequence of the establishment of transubstantiation as the teaching of the Church.

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The Quiz

Who was Charlemagne? What does the name mean? What did he achieve? When was he crowned emperor? What did he do for education? for the church? Who restored the empire? Why was it called the Holy Roman Empire, and what was the fitness of the name? What was the theory of the relation of empire and Church? Was the theory workable? What are called the Dark Ages? Is the name a good one? Describe the pe-

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riod. Who was Ansgar? Tell what you know about his mission. Among what people did Cyril and Methodius labor? With what results? Who was Vladimir? How did the Russians become Christian? What caused the separation between the Eastern and Western Churches? Why have they never reunited? What were the false decretals? Where and when were they prepared? What effect did they have on the papal power? What can you learn about the early life of Hildebrand, not told in the text? What was his theory of the papacy? How does he rank among the popes? What great reform did he undertake? Was it really a reform? What was his aim? What was the essential feature of feudalism? How did it affect the church? On what ground could emperors and kings claim right of investiture of bishops? Why did the pope object to lay investiture? In the conflict between Gregory and Henry who was victor? What was the Concordat of Worms? Describe the controversy of Berengar, and the establishment of the doctrine of transubstantiation. What does "transubstantiation" mean?

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CHAPTER VII

THE POPES SUPREME IN EUROPE

78. The Crusades

The immediate occasion of the crusades was the ill treatment of Christian pilgrims by Mohammedans, and their object was the recovery of the sacred places in Palestine. Back of this was the desire to force back the still advancing wave of Mohammedan conquest. It is said that Gregory VII first taught the duty of recovering the Holy Sepulcher, but he never actually engaged in the project. At the great Synod of Clermont, in 1095, Pope Urban II made an impassioned address that roused the people to immediate action. Thousands took the cross on the spot, and the fitting out of the first crusade speedily followed. Jerusalem was captured in 1099, but was lost again in 1187. It is usual now to reckon seven different campaigns, or crusades, which extended over one hundred and seventy-four years. At their close Europe was exhausted and the Saracens still had possession of Palestine.

79. Their Effects

Though the crusades failed of their immediate object, they were the most influential events of the

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Middle Ages. They checked for a time the advance of Mohammedanism and prolonged the life of the Eastern empire. They saved Christian civilization, and no success could be reckoned higher than that. They hastened the breaking up of feudalism, and the rise of the modern State system of Europe. They awakened Europe from its slumber, and prevented such a stagnation as overtook China and has kept her civilization stationary for two thousand years. Men's minds were broadened by travel and contact with other civilizations. The Greek language and literature were re-discovered and a revival of learning followed. But for the crusades there might have been no Renaissance. The East and the West were once more brought into touch, and a great revival of commerce followed; new industries arose in the West, and these forces in time transformed society and government. But perhaps the greatest immediate result of the crusades was an immense increase in the prestige and authority of the Church. Power was more and more centralized in the papacy. Vast additions were made to its landed and other property. The period of the crusades is the period of papal despotism in Europe.

80. Bernard of Clairvaux

One of the chief means of enlarging the powers of the papacy was the revival of monachism in the twelfth century. A leader in this revival was

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Bernard, who entered the monastery of Citeaux, and in 1115 founded the new abbey of Clairvaux. He became one of the most famous and influential men in the Church, though he persisted in refusing the honors and preferment offered. His fame as scholar, preacher, writer filled Europe. He was the ardent defender of the Church against heretics, and favored their repression by severe measures. Monachism owed its great progress to the piety and devotion of such men, and to the fact that it offered the best opportunity for the cultivation of the higher spiritual life. The political and social disorders of the time led many to take refuge in the cloisters; the outward compulsion, as well as the inward call, made monks in those days. The monastery was thus a valuable social and religious institution in its time, the medieval substitute for a system of charity—the hospital, asylum, and school of that period. Unfortunately, the institution outlived its usefulness, and became a hotbed of vice and profligacy.

81. Francis and the Mendicant Orders

Francis (b. 1182) was the son of a prosperous merchant of Assisi, and always a man of the people. After a wild and wasted youth, he was suddenly and completely converted, and resolved to forsake all and follow Christ. He was strongly opposed at first by his father, but at length was permitted to yield to his vocation. He vowed to live a life of

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poverty henceforth, and devoted himself to works of charity and mercy, even ministering to the lepers whom nobody else would approach. A few companions gradually gathered about him, and took the same vow of poverty. The clergy looked with suspicion on Francis and his work, and accordingly he sought the approval of the pope, making a journey to Rome for this purpose in 1210. A tentative permission to continue the work was all that he could secure, and this only on condition that he and his followers, now ten in number, should become an order, by receiving the tonsure and electing a general, to whom they should promise obedience. Francis was chosen general, and the lay company became a clerical order. Its growth was remarkable. In 1219 a meeting was held, known as the Chapter of the Mats, at which five thousand members of the order assembled near Assisi in booths. It was not until 1223 that a bull of Honorius III formally constituted the order, but before this (in 1220) he had ordered a year's novitiate and made the vow irrevocable. Francis retired a year after, and died in 1226. For a time the marvelous growth of the order continued. It spread into every country of Europe and was a missionary force of the first order. Great revivals of religion accompanied its introduction into many countries, notably England. But the rule of poverty was abandoned, and as the order became rich it became corrupt. The Grey Friars became the detestation of Europe;

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once famed for their sanctity, they became notorious for laziness and profligacy.

Clara, a young woman of Assisi, who had known Francis from childhood, led by his example to adopt the life of poverty, wished to found an order for women also; and in 1224 Francis gave them a Rule. They also increased greatly in numbers. But the greatest achievement of Francis was the founding of his third order. This he began in 1221, as the result of a long meditated plan for the helping of the people —in great misery in Italy, at that time, because of the exactions of the nobles. They were to live in the world and engage in their usual vocations, but were to wear a plain habit, to spend much time in prayer, and communicate at least three times a year. Simple rules for the regulation of the order were added, one of which forbade the carrying of weapons, another the taking of oaths, and still another required a regular payment of a farthing into a common treasury. These rules revolutionized society, and dealt a death-blow to feudalism in Italy.

82. The Dominicans

Dominic (1170-1221) was a Castilian, and his career is marked by the characteristics of his race—he was grave, severe, introspective. Educated by an uncle, he was sent to the University of Palencia, and attached greater importance to learning than Francis. In 1194 he was made canon; labored as a

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missionary among the Mohammedans, and after 1204 among the Albigenses. Here he founded a sort of brotherhood, which followed the army and sought out heretics. He determined to transform this brotherhood into a regular order, whose motive should be the suppression of heresy. The Fourth Lateran Council was inimical to new orders, but Innocent III gave a quasi consent to his project, and Honorius III established it in 1216. In 1219 he was present at a chapter of the Franciscans, and much impressed. He made overtures to Francis for a union of their orders, but Francis was conscious of too great a difference between them for successful co-operation, and declined the offer. Dominic adopted the vow of poverty and the principle of mendicancy for his order. In 1221 a chapter was held at which sixty monasteries were represented. Dominic was canonized in 1233. The rule of poverty was abrogated by Martin V, in 1425, and the order became rich. It was always the favorite order of the scholarly. These mendicant orders became a chief means of advancing the power of the papacy. Responsible directly to the pope and independent of the secular clergy, they were his right and left arms, with which he could reach out to any spot in Europe and enforce his will.

83. Scholasticism

In the defense of the medieval church system, scholasticism played a leading part, by providing

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its doctrines and practices with an intellectual basis. Scholasticism may be defined as the doctrines of the Church translated into the terms of the ancient philosophy, borrowed from Plato and Aristotle. Truth is one, the scholastics argued, therefore the old philosophy and the Christian theology must agree. And they were made to agree. The scholastics also borrowed their method from the Greek philosophers, and believed that all knowledge may be obtained by reasoning, to the exclusion of observation of fact. Hence logic became really the sole science. The dogmas of the Church were assumed as the foundation of knowledge, and hence an impassable limit was set to knowledge. And the assumption of correspondence between words and truth was not always justified; hence scholasticism frequently degenerated into hair-splitting debates about the meaning of terms. But it was at all events a system of intellectual activity; it encouraged thought, speculation, inquiry. It does not deserve the contempt with which it is now commonly regarded. If much of its effort was fruitless, the system as a whole was not unfruitful.

84. Anselm

A native of Piedmont, educated in Normandy, he was made archbishop of Canterbury in 1093. As an English prelate he enforced the ideas of Hildebrand, and thus came into conflict with the king, with whom he was in controversy during the rest

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of his life. He was final victor in the contest, in 1106, but died three years later. In consequence of this contest he had spent much of his time at Rome, and in this comparative leisure wrote some of his most important works. In his *Cur Deus Homo* he set forth a better theory of the atonement than had been previously known. The justice of God demands satisfaction for sin, he said; and sin against an infinite being deserves an infinite penalty; hence only an infinite being could reconcile the goodness and the justice of God, by undergoing a penalty adequate to the offense. The suffering of an infinite being would be of infinite worth. Hence the Son of God took on himself human nature and suffered in man's stead. This is a good example of the scholastic method applied to the solution of theological problems.

85. Abelard

A native of Brittany, a lecturer in Paris, Abelard was the great rhetorician and controversialist of his age (1079-1142). He was essentially a rationalist; for where Anselm would put faith above reason, he always put reason above faith. His mind was critical rather than constructive; he was a logician and rhetorician, rather than philosopher or theologian. He originated no great doctrine, nor did he combine doctrines into a system. His most characteristic work is *Sic et Non* (Yes and No), a collection of contradictory sayings of the Fathers on

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various subjects. Abelard was twice condemned for heresy. At the Synod of Soissons (1121) his treatise on the Trinity was condemned, and he was compelled to put it into the fire with his own hand. At the Synod of Sens (1141) Bernard accused him of heresy and Pope Innocent II confirmed the condemnation of the synod. Abelard opposed Anselm's teaching on the atonement, holding that there is no necessity of a sacrifice to appease the wrath of God, but that man rather needs to be reconciled to God. Christ's life and death exhibit the self-sacrifice of an infinite love, and so draw men back to the God from whom sin has alienated them.

86. Thomas Aquinas († 1274)

The Roman theology reached its complete development in the writings of this man, the greatest of the scholastics. A member of the Dominican order, and a lecturer at Paris and Naples, his *Summa Theologiae* became at once and has ever remained the standard text-book of theology in the Roman Church. He is known as Doctor Angelicus. Not an original thinker, he is great in the balance of his powers and in his gift for systematizing, rather than in contributions to theological science. Thomas recognized two sources of knowledge, revelation and reason; of these revelation was chief—and by revelation he meant the Scriptures as interpreted by tradition. The office of reason is

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interpretative; it may discover analogies, or probable arguments in favor of dogma, but it is the handmaid of faith. Though orthodox according to the standards of his time, Thomas taught some things contrary to the present rule of faith. For example, he denied the immaculate conception of the Virgin (then only a pious opinion) and the infallibility of the pope. There is, however, no better authority on the doctrines characteristic of the Roman system, such as the sacraments, purgatory, the invocation of the saints, and indulgences. Thomas supports the Catholic theology with ingenious reasoning, such interpretations of the Scriptures as he could make plausible, and great patristic learning.

87. Rise of the Inquisition

One of the most effective instruments of extending and maintaining papal power was the so-called Holy Office of the Inquisition. Persecution arose early in the history of the Catholic Church, being indeed required by its theory of sacramental grace, since one who separated men from the Church and the only means of salvation became the worst of criminals. Persecution was supposed to be directed by the bishops, but they were not efficient. The great Albigensian heresy in Southern France showed the weakness of the episcopal courts in dealing with heretics, and suggested a better method—a continuous process, directed by officers appointed

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by the pope and responsible to him. Early in the thirteenth century the institution took form and was gradually perfected, until it became the most ingenious and effective machinery of its kind ever devised. Men and women were arrested on mere suspicion, compelled to give evidence against themselves, tortured if they refused to confess, denied the help of counsel and witnesses. When the heretic was pronounced guilty he was turned over to the civil authorities for punishment, usually to be burned. By such means thousands of so-called heretics were destroyed, and yet heresy continued to flourish.

88. Innocent III (1161–1216)

The papacy reached the zenith of its power at the close of the twelfth century. Elected pope at the age of thirty-seven, the ablest man of his age, astute, inflexible, politic, Innocent made his pontificate the most brilliant in the history of the Church. With great shrewdness he played one power against another until he made himself master of all, the arbiter of Europe. He compelled the most powerful kings of his time to obey his commands, and if they refused, he brought them to humiliating submission. The one mistake of his pontificate was his taking the part of John of England, in the struggle against the barons, and his condemnation of Magna Charta. This was no doubt due to his imperfect understanding of the facts, for he was too wise a pontiff to

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have taken this course had he been well informed. The summit of his power was marked by the Fourth Lateran Council, of 1215, which he completely dominated. Transubstantiation was now made an article of faith, and severe measures of repression were authorized against heretics. Three rules were enacted: (1) All rulers should be exhorted not to tolerate heretics in their dominions; (2) any who refused or delayed obedience should be deposed from authority; (3) any who joined expeditions against heretics should have all the privileges of crusaders. The successors of Innocent were not able to maintain the papal power at this height; there was a gradual decline, though the pope was still a great personage in Europe.

89. Decline of the Empire

Under the successors of Innocent III, the old conflict between the Church and empire broke out afresh. For some time the emperors had been of the house of Hohenstaufen, and Frederick II (1220-1250) the most brilliant member of this house, became involved in a conflict with the papacy, the occasion of which was his failure to fulfil a vow to go on a crusade. The contest became so bitter that the popes resolved to destroy the entire house of Hohenstaufen, and pursued them until the last of them perished. In this contest the empire was so greatly weakened that it never recovered its position in Europe. The popes had triumphed over

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their strongest rival, but in so doing had destroyed their chief protector. When the great movement known as the Reformation began, the emperor was able to do little toward its suppression. The destruction of the Hohenstaufen and weakening of the empire proved to be a short-sighted and even suicidal policy. The supremacy of the popes turned out to have been dearly bought.

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The Quiz

What was the occasion of the crusades? the cause? Who first taught the duty of a crusade? Who led to immediate action? How many crusades were there? How long did they last? What was their result? What effects had they on Europe? Who and what was Bernard of Clairvaux? What did medieval monachism accomplish? Describe the life and work of Francis. What did his order accomplish? Who was Clara? What was the third order of Francis, and what was its effect? How did the order of Dominic originate, and what was its character? What is the significance of the mendicant orders? What was scholasticism? What were its defects? its merits? Who was Anselm? What did he teach? Who was Abelard? What was his character and achievement? For what was he condemned? What was his teaching on the atonement? Who was Thomas? What was his idea of the sources of knowledge? Was he orthodox? What is his standing in the Roman Church? Why did the Church persecute? Who had charge of persecutions? What better means was devised in the thirteenth century? Who was Innocent III? What was the character of his pontificate? What rules were enacted by the Fourth Lateran Council? What produced the decline of the empire? Were the popes wise in their policy?

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CHAPTER VIII

THE GREAT SCHISM AND THE REFORMING COUNCILS

90. Boniface VIII (1294 – 1303)

With his pontificate began the rapid decline of the Church. He was crafty and ambitious, anxious to be a second Hildebrand, but the growth of the new kingdoms of France and England, the rise of the universities, the decay of feudalism, had so changed political and social conditions that a second Hildebrand was no longer possible. The kings of England and France had imposed a tax on the clergy to meet the expenses of their wars; Boniface forbade the clergy to pay, on the ground that such tax was illegal without his consent as trustee. In the conflict that followed, Boniface was defeated in both kingdoms. In the midst of the struggle came the jubilee of 1300. Thousands of pilgrims flocked into Rome, to obtain the special indulgences promised, and great wealth poured into the coffers of the pope. The contest with King Philip of France was renewed, and Boniface issued his famous bull *Unam Sanctam,* in which he claimed absolute supremacy over secular rulers. Allies of Philip captured the pope at Anagni, and maltreated him, so that he is said to have died of mortification soon afterward. A pope who could not protect his

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own person might threaten the kings of Europe, but he would only make himself ridiculous. It was evident to the world that the theory of papal supremacy had broken down.

91. The Babylonian Captivity

The papacy now entered on the most disgraceful part of its career. There were times when popes as wicked sat in the chair of Peter, but none in which the papacy itself was so completely degraded and discredited. The successor of Boniface was a tool of the king of France, and took up his residence at Avignon, in Southern France. Here the popes ruled for a period of seventy years, which is known in church literature as the "Babylonian Captivity." It is not necessary to say much about the popes of this period. The best of them were weak, cowardly, time-serving creatures, the mere puppets of the French kings. The worst surpassed all previous records of debauchery and crime. These seventy years were nearly fatal to the papacy. They brought it into general contempt, and so weakened its power and influence that the wonder is the institution survived. The luxury, extravagance, and licentiousness of the court at Avignon became the scandal of Europe, and the extortion and simony practised to raise a revenue for the court shocked the moral sense of all the nations. The day was obviously approaching when there would be a revolt against such abuses.

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92. The Papal Schism

It became evident at last that the papacy must be re-established in Rome, and in 1376 Gregory XI returned to that city. Two years later, the election of his successor produced a schism, and thenceforth there were two rival popes, one at Rome and the other at Avignon, each claiming to be the only true successor of Peter, and each excommunicating his rival and all his adherents, to the great grief and scandal of all Christendom. The two popes became rivals for the support of the various States of Europe, and competitors in all the arts of simony and extortion. Nothing is a better witness to the enduring strength of the papacy than the fact that it survived the Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism.

93. The Council of Pisa 1409

Nothing seemed left but an appeal to a general council, but it was doubtful how one should be called. It was claimed that no council could be called save by a pope, and the titles of both claimants to the papacy were in dispute. Finally the cardinals issued a call, and the council met at Pisa in 1409. Both popes were declared to be deposed, and Alexander V was elected to succeed them. The result was that, so far from healing the schism, the council had increased the difficulty: there were now three rival popes, instead of two. In later times this council has been denied the rank of ecumenical,

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because of its irregular summons, the principle having at length been recognized that unless called by a pope a council is irregular and not ecumenical.

94. The Council of Constance

In 1414 the Emperor Sigismund secured the consent of one of the popes to call a council at Constance. This was a large and representative body; there was a strong demand for reform of the Church, and great things were hoped. It was declared that a general council derives its power immediately from Christ, and that everybody, even the pope, was bound to obey its decrees. Martin V was elected pope. One of the three claimants had resigned, the other two were declared deposed, and now had few adherents, and the healing of the schism was at hand. But jealousies between the nations represented in the council, and the skilful management of the new pope, brought about the dissolution of the body with nothing of consequence accomplished toward the reform of the Church. There was a lack of clearness in the purposes of those who favored reform, that of itself made success difficult, if not impossible.

95. The Council of Basel

Another attempt at reformation was made by the council of Basel, in 1431. Almost immediately there was a conflict between the body and the pope, who attempted to dissolve it. This led to the strongest

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possible assertion of the supreme authority of a council, and the pope was compelled for the time to yield. Canons were passed that if enforced would have ended many of the abuses in the Church. Reservations, annates, pallium money, and other irregular and scandalous sources of revenue were abolished. This provoked a fresh conflict with the pope, for such reform threatened the very existence, not of the papacy, but of the papal court and the system of administration that had become established in the Church. The king of France recognized the decrees of the council, in which he was followed by some other princes, but most of the States of Europe were either neutral in the conflict or sided with the pope. The council gradually diminished in numbers and influence, and finally expired without having actually accomplished the hoped-for reforms, since the pope persisted in refusing to recognize and confirm its decrees.

96. Failure of Reform within the Church

The chief reason for the failure of these attempts at reform was that, almost without exception, they ignored the spirit and history of the Roman Church. The would-be reformers failed to take into consideration the fact that the Church, in its organization and doctrine, was the result of a legitimate process of development from certain few fundamental principles—a process almost as certain as physical law. Any reforms that ran counter to this process

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were foredoomed to failure. This is as true of the abuses and corruptions of the Church as of its organization and dogmas. The very things against which the moral sense of Europe so revolted, and whose reform was so desired, were an inseparable part of the system. Men did not, men could not then, realize this. They understood only with great difficulty, for the most part they understood not at all, that the power of the pope was largely derived from and bound up with the evils to be reformed.

Take, for example, the notorious crime of simony, against which popes and councils and doctors of the Church protested for centuries. At first simony was practised by the secular princes, and Hildebrand did the world and the Church good service by contending against the evil. But as power was transferred from the princes to the popes, the simony did not cease; it was merely practised by churchmen instead of men of the world. A large part of the papal revenues were after a time derived from this source. Provisions and reservations were not so much given to stretch the pope's prerogative as to fill his purse, and at times they were all but put up at auction and sold to the highest bidder. The great expenses of the papal court could not be maintained out of its legitimate revenues, and illegitimate means had to be devised. It therefore came to pass that popes who began with sincere purposes of reform found the system too strong for them, and also discovered that a real

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reform would end by their reforming themselves out of existence. By the end of the fifteenth century, therefore, it was evident that no real reform within the Church was possible; a genuine reformation must take the form of a schism.

In trying to account for the earlier failures of reform, Protestants are also prone to underrate the strength of the Roman Church of the Middle Ages —its spiritual strength, its hold upon the affections of the people. The evil wrought by the Church, the complaints and denunciations that this evil provoked—these are things that lie on the surface of things and he who runs may read. To see the good, we must look below the surface. The pope was the only power feared by emperors and kings, the only one who could call to account wicked and tyrannical rulers. The bishop alone dared to withstand the great feudal lords and check their brutalities. The clergy were the protectors of the poor against those above them. The monks were the best landlords, as well as the pioneers in agriculture and manufactures—they drained marshes, cleared forests, taught all the arts of peace. Men saw the corruptions and abuses of the Church, but were conscious that on the whole it was their best friend, and they were not quick to join in attacks upon it, until it utterly ceased to be their friend and became in turn a plunderer and oppressor. And even after affection had given place to hatred, old use and wont retained their power, and kept men in a manner loyal to a

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Church they had almost ceased to fear and altogether ceased to love.

Bibliography

The available literature, outside of the general church histories, and other similar works already referred to, is very scanty. There are two costly and voluminous works covering this time: Pastor's *History of the Popes,* by a moderate and scholarly Roman Catholic (6 vols., London, 12s. each); and Creighton, *History of the Papacy,* by a bishop of the Church of England (6 vols., Longmans, $2 each); Wylie's *Council of Constance* is excellent but does not cover the later sessions (Longmans, $2). Articles on the various councils may be found in the encyclopedias, also on Boniface VIII.

The Quiz

What was the character of Boniface? What ground did he take regarding taxation of the clergy? Did he succeed? What is a "jubilee"? How did the pontificate of Boniface end? Why did he fail? What is meant by the "Babylonian Captivity"? Was there any captivity? What effect did the stay at Avignon have on the papacy? What caused the Great Schism? How was the council of Pisa called? What did it do? Was it successful? Is it recognized as ecumenical? When was the council of Constance? Who was elected pope? What did the council accomplish? When was the

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council of Basel held? What did it claim for its authority? What reforms did it attempt? Why did these fail? Why did all these attempts at reform within the Church fail? Did the reformers understand the history and institutions of the Church? Did they comprehend what reform implied? If not, why? Is the spiritual strength of the Roman Catholic Church adequately understood? How did the people of medieval times look on the Church?

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